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the right to use—or threaten with—force was not reserved to the government. It was a privilege reserved to the interested parties in case the adjudicative process broke down. In other words, there existed a situation exactly comparable to that observed among nations which recognize certain practices of international law, but which reserve to themselves the sovereign right to resort to force if things don't suit them. Then, in the words of Post Oak Jim, "Lots of trouble, lots of people hurt."

It is very clear, however, that the Comanches tended to attribute moral rightness to the braver man. This is revealed, for instance, in the settlement of a land-rights squabble in the early days on the reservation:

Case 8. Land Dispute
Informant: Eagle Tail Feather

When land allotments were made by the government, two neighbors quarrelled over a quarter section of land which both wanted. One of them succeeded in establishing his claim on the disputed land. The other protested the action and contested the claim. Feeling ran higher and higher over the matter until each was threatening to kill the other.

Quanah Parker, who was chief of the band at the time, was called upon to settle the dispute. He asked two warriors to testify as to the past war record of the disputants. Since one of the warriors was late in coming to report, Parker sent Eagle Tail Feather, then chief of the Indian police, to find him to hear what he had to say. Eagle Tail Feather took another warrior with him as witness. The first disputant also went in the party, thinking to gain an advantage by confronting the witness personally.

When the four men were assembled at the warrior-witness's house, this disputant spoke up, saying, "Which is better, I or this other fellow?"

"All right," said the warrior, "now that you've asked me, I'll speak out plain. That other one (the opponent in the case) is the better man. I was in a battle where I saw him get off his horse and help a dismounted comrade from the midst of the enemy. He is a brave man and did a great deed; you'd better look out or he'll whip you, or kill you."

These words silenced the claimant. He knew that he would lose the land unless he could speak up and tell of a braver deed which he had performed. This he could not do, so he remained speechless while the others waited for his words. When they were satisfied that his adversary was the braver man, Eagle Tail Feather and his aide returned to Quanah and told him what had ensued at the meeting.

Quanah decreed that the disputed quarter section should belong to the warrior who had made the rescue. The other released his claim to it without further word.[8]

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[8] This is, of course, an atypical case, involving as it does, land rights which are not a part of the aboriginal culture. However, it *does* show the carry-over of old attitudes to new procedures.

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771 or trait depended on power given to man by some supernatural being. The supernatural beings were animistic objects of nature—birds—the hawk, the eagle, and humming bird; animals—the bear, the otter, bison, rat, wolf, and others; reptiles and fishes; even insects. All were living spirits who spoke the language of man and who possessed special attributes or powers which they could give to men as medicine. Other spirits were the imaginary environment: a whole fabric created by man's fancy, made real by dogma. These were the dwarf people, who lived in the mountains; the water babies, who lived in swampy places; the dead reincarnated as animals; and the ghosts of men, who were likely to turn up almost anywhere. By association, medicines were usually similar in some respect to notable qualities possessed by the prototype of the respective guardian spirit. Lightning and thunder gave power, too, but the earth and the sun were akin to deities. They were active in the affairs of men, yet above that individualized pity which led spirit-beings to bestow medicine powers on an earthling.

The essence of the religion was found in the relation between an earthling and his guardian spirits. Power came in vision visitations. It was a dream phenomenon, or hallucinatory experience. It sometimes came uninvited. More frequently it was sought.

A vision quest entailed a solitary visit to a mountain, or to the grave of a dead medicine man. Fasting and certain rituals were involved, though no self-torture was used by these people. The watch lasted four days; it might last longer. The Comanche stayed at it until he received his vision, or else abandoned the quest.

Religious practice consisted in first instance of the patterns for obtaining supernatural favor. Behind these were relationships which prevailed between men and their guardian spirits, together with certain notions concerning supernatural forces in general: so those pertaining to Coyote, the trickster, or to the earth and the sun. In almost every instance, it must be emphasized, these relationships and their observance were a matter of *individual* concern. The Comanche did have medicine societies of a sort, but they were limited both in extent and in importance. Dances or ceremonies were few and simple. Most of them were without religious significance. The great exception, the Sun Dance, was a relatively late acquisition ● [77] from other Plains tribes.[4]

Religion being thus an individual matter save in exceptional cases, the tabus which it enjoined were also limited in importance to the person

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[4] R. Linton, *The Comanche Sun Dance* (American Anthropologist, vol. 37, 1938), pp. 420–428.

to Coyote was to be held up alongside of that sly, ridiculous, untrustworthy 627×
mountebank who is the *Til Eulenspiegel* of Comanche mythology. The boy 684
took it hard, too. He sulked in his lodge, ashamed to go out and face his 558
friends. He thought his chance to save his face had come when an alarm of the approach of white military ran through the camp. He prepared to die gloriously, but was doomed to disappointment when the whites held out the olive branch.

CONDITIONAL CURSE

The rough-and-ready third degree techniques fit well into the Comanche 627×
picture of war-like life. But beyond these forms there were other means at
hand for the husband who chose to use them. These were ritualistic ap- 782
proaches to the supernatural which entered when called upon as a legal force. The supernatural was invoked through conditional curse and oath.

The use of the conditional curse for proof was very specialized, indeed confined seemingly to adultery and sorcery cases. It was known as "sun-killing" ṭaβέβekʌt. In adultery procedure the husband took his wife to a lonely spot and making smoke with his pipe, he addressed the charge to the sun and the earth and sometimes the moon. By these same powers the wife swore her innocence. These powers in their omnipotence knew the truth, and if the wife were guilty, they afflicted her with consumption. The usual fate of erring women who took the curse was, according to native dogma, that of Short Dress, wife of Kóhi. She denied her husband's charge, placing her hands flat upon the earth and calling upon the powers, while her husband smoked. She bade the sun, "May I die when the geese fly from the south to the north if I have done the thing he has charged me with."[8] She died the next spring.

In adultery, as in sorcery, the supernatural played the double role of judge and executor. The case was rested by the prosecutor and there was no more for him to do but await results.

More recent developments put another angle on the conditional curse. 627×
As Comanche women began to feel the emancipating effects of the impact of 177 ●
white contact, they refused to submit docilely to the curse. It was very
unsettling to the men, but even so, That's It laughed as he thought of the 562
startled discomfiture of the first husband to feel its effects. This man had accused his wife of adultery and did not believe her denial, so he prepared a smoke to the sun. And just as he was about to pronounce the fatal words, his wife broke in.

"You are going to make smoke. You want to kill me," she expostulated.

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[8] Some Comanches evaded repeating this oath to us for fear of its dangerous implications.

627 "But you listen, I deny this thing. Now look out! I am going to smoke too.
●177 If you are putting the lie on me, the sun will get you instead." That put a
562 different complexion on the situation; the husband was not begging for such a bargain. "So," as That's It put it, "he called off his sun-killing and gave his wife sugar-words."

Later another husband called the deal and paid the price. A man named Brother-in-law, according to Holding Her Sunshade, tried his wife on false evidence. When he put her to the curse, she made her denial and ended by calling to the supernaturals, "If he cuts off my nose, grant that he shall not live long." Brother-in-law accepted the challenge. He did cut off her nose, and within a month he was dead.

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688 In earlier days when such notions had not yet occurred to women, there were, nevertheless, other escapes, if the aid of a powerful practitioner could be enlisted. For in the case of Looking For Fun, we have one fortunate woman who was able to dodge death through the invocation of strong counterpowers.

Case 30. Adultery, Conditional Curse: Looking For Fun
Informant: That's It

"Her husband suspected her of adultery. This Looking For Fun denied. So her husband made sun-killing. Smoking to the powers, he first addressed the sun saying, 'You, Father, know the truth of this matter. As you look down on them don't let them live till fall.'[9] Then to the earth he said, 'You, Mother Earth, as you know what is true, don't let them live a happy life on you.' Whereupon he gave the pipe to his wife that she might make her self-curse.

Even though she was guilty and knew it, she swore to the powers, 'Sun, if you don't believe me, then let me perish. Mother Earth, if you don't believe me, let it be true that I won't live right upon you! Whatever he says, let it be true!'

"That ended the ceremony.

"After a few months Looking For Fun had fainting spells and began to waste away. She was frightened and went to a medicine man for help. He told her to wait to see what his powers offered. After three or four days he came to her and said he believed that the husband's charge was true! The great powers were punishing her. At this she owned up. She told the medicine man she had not confessed because she was afraid of what her husband would do to her. As for the curse, she said she didn't believe in its power and so had lied about it. The medicine man told her that that being the situation, it was too dangerous a matter for him to handle. His power was not strong enough to cope with the sun. He recommended that she take her case to another medicine man who was a specialist in such matters. Looking For Fun was eager and asked her adviser to tell her mother of the situation. The medicine man

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[9] Compare this wording with the Crow Indian conditional curse in coup-counting disputes—"It was I struck the enemy. Sun, as you looked down, you saw me. May the one who lies die before winter." R. H. Lowie, *The Crow Indians* (New York, 1937), p. 217.

Neighbors observed that these helpers in grief "wailed a dead person until 428
they received sufficient gifts from the man's relatives to stop. For instance," 626
he continues, "if a man wants a favorite horse belonging to the brother of 765
the deceased, he continues crying until he obtains it." Not only the deceased's estate, but the whole family property was drawn upon. If the death occurred in battle, then the demands of wailing and the value of gifts received were enlarged with the result that "from the liberality with which they dispose of their effects on all such occasions of the kind, it would induce the belief that they acquire property merely for the purpose of giving it to others."[6]

This is the picture of Comanche disposal of an estate as it appears to be. 428
Actually, there were undoubtedly manifold deviations and variations to- 183
wards either extreme. The patterns of disposal were nebulous and not well fixed.[7]

Nothing could better reveal the difficulty of evaluating the material which confronts us than the prevailing notions as to what happened in the disposal of the herd of horses belonging to A Big Fall By Tripping. On
three points all the stories agree: he had waxed so fat that no horse could
carry him, hence he was dragged from place to place on a good, strong [492]
travois; when he died he was too big to move to the mountains, so they dug [766]
a hole within his tipi and dumped him in; he left an estate of one thousand to fifteen hundred horses—all white. Concerning the settlement of the estate our four accounts diverge.

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[6] Neighbors, *ibid.*, pp. 133–134.

[7] Professor Ralph Linton has acutely described the confusion and conflict in Comanche 177
inheritance practices, laying emphasis upon the dynamics of cultural change. "... in 1870–1880 the practices of the Comanche with regard to inheritance were in a chaotic condition. There is good reason to believe that the whole problem of inheritance was new to the culture. The Plateau tribes from whom the Comanche had separated themselves when they entered the Plains were accustomed to destroy all a man's property at his death. This entailed few hardships and no serious economic loss, since property was limited to clothing and a few weapons and utensils. When the Comanche took over the Plains culture and acquired horses, inheritance became a real problem. Some individuals owned very large herds, in one case 2,000 animals. To slaughter the entire herd at the death of the owner was strongly against native sentiment and also prejudicial to the interests of the tribe. Since animals were freely loaned, several individuals might be dependent upon one man's herd for their mounts and would be seriously handicapped in hunting and war if these were killed. Stories indicate that there were some cases of wholesale killing during the early period, but by 1870 it had become customary to kill only a man's favorite horses and distribute the rest among the surviving relatives. No rules governing this distribution had been developed, with the result that there was usually hard feeling among the heirs." Linton, *The Study of Man*, pp. 297–298.

171 dians? Above all, it was the horse-buffalo-tipi complex, in which they equaled or surpassed all other Indians. In horses they were the richest of all tribes; in fact *they* introduced the horse into the plains and they were the medium through which most other Indians received their mounts (at the expense of the Texans and Mexicans). If the horse was the critical factor in later Plains culture, then the Comanches, although they were in other aspects imitators, were in this one very significant aspect the great innovators. Of buffalo they had a plethora and were more richly supplied than the tribes farther north. In warfare no one surpassed them. They were, indeed, typical enough, even without warrior societies and the Sun Dance.

172 Just prior to the introduction of the horse there were very few
174 nomadic Indians out on the plains proper. In the moist millennia immediately following the retreat of the fourth (Wisconsin) glaciation, a thin veneer of paleolithic hunters, called the Paleo-Indians, spread out across the plains from the eastern slopes of the Rockies. Their epoch lasted from perhaps 20,000 B.C. to around 10,000, during which the archaeological cultures of Folsom and Yuma dominated the scene. From 10,000 B.C. to A.D. 1,000 a series of transitory cultures of nomadic, pre-pottery, pre-gardening societies, called collectively *lithic,* vacillated back and forth as wet periods and alternating Dust Bowl climates made habitation of the plains possible or nearly untenable. Beginning about A.D. 500 emigrants from the Woodlands of the Mississippi Valley and east brought gardening to the river bottoms of the Missouri and its tributaries. These people and their protohistoric successors lived in settled villages of earth lodges or grass-domed houses, growing corn, squash, maize, and tobacco. When they traveled, they went afoot. They hunted the buffalo and the antelope, but always near home and apparently by driving them into funnel-shaped corrals that opened on a bluff over which the stampeding animals would tumble to their deaths. The buffalo was important to their economy, but not critically so. They also fought, but war was stylized and formal and not a central interest.[1]

● 177 The coming of the horse from the Southwest and the westward displacement of tribes by the pressures of Eastern Indians armed with guns changed all this, beginning in the seventeenth century.

[1] J. D. Jennings, *Plainsmen of the Past: A Review of the Prehistory of the Plains.*

The Horse and the Buffalo

177 These forces brought about an immediate and sweeping change in the life of the Comanches that was even more drastic than in the case of most other Indians. Walter Prescott Webb does not exaggerate in his claim that "Steam, electricity, and gasoline have wrought no greater changes in our culture than did horses in the culture of the Plains Indians."[2] With the horse, the Comanche achieved incomparably greater mobility; he mastered the buffalo; he had an exchangeable asset that made him a greater trader; he was transformed from an impotent infantryman into a fierce cavalryman—a dangerous warrior and insatiable raider. As a beast of burden and as a means of personal transportation, the horse had a fundamental value to the Comanche. It enabled the hunter to provide plenty of food, clothing, and shelter for his dependents, the raider to take more plunder, and the warrior to take more enemy scalps with less danger to himself. His life became exuberant, his culture efflorescent.

177 492 231 The Comanche had not been devoid entirely of a beast of burden for use in transportation previous to the acquisition of the horse. He had used the dog to draw his travois, as we have already seen. But his movable goods when toted by dogs were meager and his household poorly furnished. After obtaining the larger animal, he merely enlarged his dog harness, lengthened the travois poles, and "as an indication of appreciation of the boon which had been conferred upon him, named the horse the God-dog."[3] But the difference in the load that could be moved and the distance that could be covered as a result of the change increased considerably the area from which the Comanche could draw sustenance and the load of household appurtenances he could move about in his wanderings.

177 231 The horse had other practical advantages over the dog. It could eat grass and even the bark of trees. In the lush plains of the past it was easier to feed in large numbers than was the dog. Furthermore, its flesh could be eaten in times of food scarcity, while the dog, although nutritious, could not be eaten because of the coyote tabu. The skin of the horse provided shelter, robes, saddles, and rawhide thongs. The mane and tail were converted into ropes and bridles. The Comanche hunter was no longer compelled to stalk his game on foot.

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[2] W. P. Webb, *The Texas Rangers: A Conflict of Civilization*, 13.

[3] *Ibid.*

177 231 He could run down and kill the buffalo on the open plains and afterwards carry it farther and save more of it than had been possible before.

It is difficult to overestimate the military value of the horse to the Comanche. It provided both the means and the incentive for more extended raids. Forays could be made more often and deeper into enemy territory, and the possibility of escaping safely with more plunder was greater with its use. It was primarily the horse that enabled the Comanches to extend their power southward, to beat the Spaniards and the Mexicans for more than a century, to make the Texas frontier unsafe for white settlement until they were restricted to a reservation, and to contend for a time successfully with the military forces of the United States from the Mexican border to north of the Arkansas River.

556 431 436 Horses constituted the most important type of property and the staple form of wealth. Because taking them under difficult conditions had a sociopsychological value, the acquisition of a large herd added greatly to the prestige of the owner. The owner of a large herd could make more munificent gifts to a prospective wife and members of her family and to other members of the tribe. Horses served also as an informal medium of exchange. They could be presented as gifts in reciprocity for services rendered and as fees to medicine men. When they were used in the settlement of controversies between individuals—as they generally were among the Comanches—they had legal as well as monetary significance.

231 Comanche esteem of horses knew no bounds. Each man had at least one favorite horse, although his personal string might run to dozens, or even hundreds, of animals. His favorite horse was kept picketed close to his tipi at night while the remuda grazed on the open plains. He tended it, petted it, and adored it. "Some men loved their horses more than they loved their wives," said Post Oak Jim. To this, others added, "Or child, or any other any human being." 231 681 And in seeking legal settlements, whatever else the prosecuting man and his friends might demand of the offending culprit, they were sure to insist on the favorite horse.

In his own experience with a damage suit, Breaks Something had to deal with this problem.

276 796 on others, the smoker addressed one or more of the supernatural spirits in prayer; and at other times it appears that with the issuance of smoke the ceremony was finished and the group could enter into conversation. The smoker sought power: power to heal, to triumph over enemies, to become a better hunter, to gain more horses, or to live a long and useful life.

When the leader had completed his invocation, he passed the pipe to the person on his left, who repeated the same smoking ritual, and then on to the next until everyone had smoked. When the man sitting next to the door had smoked, he could not pass the pipe across the doorway; it must be handed back entirely around the circle (no one smoking) to the man on the opposite side of the door. The pipe was handled only according to prescribed ritual.

To refuse to smoke under certain situations was disrespectful and might be regarded as an insult or an offense. Likewise, it was disrespectful for an unqualified man to smoke ceremoniously. In some cases, no one might leave or enter the lodge during the smoking ceremony. No one was permitted to stand up or walk about the lodge. Sometimes smokers anointed themselves with the smoke. Medicine men anointed patients with it by passing their hands through sacred smoke and then rubbing the patient. It was strong medicine. The smokers gave special attention to pipe ashes, which were usually deposited according to prescribed ritual.[22]

796 The Sun Dance, which loomed so large in the lives of the tribes of longer standing in the plains, was not an established part of Comanche socio-religious activities. When it was introduced in the eighteen seventies, it was seized upon as a mechanism of Messianic revivalism—a story that will be presented in a later chapter. The peyote cult was also worked up in later days as an integrative device to replace the collapsing system of native supernaturalism. And that, too, will be treated later on, as a part of the problem of readjustment to new conditions imposed by the white conquest.

● [177] The Green Corn Dance was a late cultural innovation borrowed from the Caddos and Wichitas. It was a thanksgiving ceremonial for

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[22] This account of the smoking ritual is compiled from statements by informants Medicine Woman and Kills Something; also, Neighbors, "The Naüni or Comanches of Texas," *loc. cit.*, 126–27; Battey, *op. cit.*, 323–24; Parker, *op. cit.*, 59; C. and J. D. Smith, *op. cit.*, 108; Lee, *op. cit.*, 146; Smithwick, *op. cit.*, 180.

726 horses that fell behind were abandoned. No time was lost hunting for food. If necessary, old horses were killed and consumed. Captives who retarded the speed of the retreat might be abandoned or killed. To avoid surprise, they stopped to rest for only an hour or two and then moved on again, making three or four such stops within a day. To discourage pursuit, they would take a route on which they knew there was no water. When they became very thirsty, they killed horses and drank the blood. The meager supply of water carried in buffalo paunches was rationed, well guarded, and conserved for the children and women when they were along, or for wounded warriors. Clinton Smith declares that on one occasion the warriors did without water until their throats became too swollen for them to swallow readily.[21]

After an engagement or a stealthy garnering of horses, the leader and war-bonnet wearers covered the escape with rear-guard actions. The leader designated two men to remain on fast horses some distance behind, yet close enough to signal, in order to watch the back trail. They sometimes set fire to the grass to blot out their trail against both men and dogs, or they emptied pouches of skunk musk on the
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416 trail to prevent dogs from following in pursuit. After the advent of the white trader, the rear-guard scouts carried field glasses.[22]

727 When raiders had put two or three days of safety between themselves and possible pursuers, they halted. They needed rest and the wounded required attention. In most cases there were spoils to be divided, and the division was made as soon as convenient. The leader's eyes had been open to industry, willingness, and bravery. He noted or was soon told of the actions of his followers while in battle. Unless previously agreed otherwise, to the man who had excelled he allowed first choice of the horses to be divided. Each member of the party chose in turn according to his services as determined by the chief, the cook usually having high priority. The leader took his pick of what remained. The succession of choices was repeated in the same order as before. A reputation for fairness in dividing the spoils enhanced the prestige of a war leader and gained him followers. Liberality was

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[21] *Ibid.*, [illegible]

[22] Informant: Yellowfish; see also Hoebel, *The Political Organization and Law-Ways of the Comanche Indians*, 25; C. and J. D. Smith, *op. cit.*, 34, 39, 40.

[23] Linton, *The Study of Man*, 142–43.

cutting, as did the other tribes. The Comanches followed the Kiowa 648x practice of delegating the honor[1] to a captive woman who had been faithful to her captor husband. This was but one of the ways of inte- 795 grating the alien members into the tribal whole. [727

The ritual of raising the center pole with three false starts before 641] hoisting it into place was done in the common Plains manner. A freshly killed and stuffed buffalo was mounted on the center pole. It is significant that in the crisis of the disappearing herds the Comanches in formulating their Sun Dance placed more than usual emphasis upon the bison.

On the last day of preparation, a scout was sent out to locate a "herd," and on the evening of the fourth day it was announced that it had been located. The Sun Dance proper began with an impounding of the buffalo. Four brave warriors went out some distance from the camp disguised as buffalo. One of them wore the robe of a mangy old bull. An especially outstanding warrior, carrying a bow and a torch, set forth to find them. In time, he found the herd and drove it back to the camp and into the dance lodge, just as used to be done with the old-time corral. Then the dancing could begin.

There were two other bits of dramatic by-play that took place on the fourth day of preparation and thus preceded the hunt. One of them provided comic relief, and the other provided an important bit of symbolism, as did the buffalo hunt. The first of these was the invasion of the clowns, or Mud Men (*sɛḵwitsit puhitsit*). Here was [177 ● something the Comanches had almost certainly picked up in their 574] visits to the Pueblos, possibly at Taos where they were not infrequently peaceful visitors. This they grafted on to their version of the Sun Dance. The Comanche clowns were "masked" dancers akin to the *ḵoshare* of the Eastern Pueblos. They prepared themselves by the creek, smearing their hair, faces, and bodies with mud. On their heads they wore willow-leaf "helmets" that hung down to their shoulders like semi-masks. About their bodies they wore leaves. On their visages they built up large noses of mud, and each carried a club of willow withes and a wicker shield made of the same material.

Mounting their mud-bedaubed ponies, they charged into the camp, swatting people with their "clubs," chasing dogs about, and generally acting funny. People who were whipped could not remonstrate; they

[1] [i.e., of cutting the Sun Dance center pole. -Analyst]

hunt to obtain a portion of their winter supply of meat, and the sale 648x of buffalo robes was the source of a large part of their income. They preferred their own clothing obtained by means of the hunt to that provided by the government. The agent defended their cause, and the final decision was that they might continue to hunt off the reservation, but must be accompanied by a military escort when they did so.[18]

The regulation was tardy, for the day of the old-time summer communal hunt was past. Nevertheless, the whole tribe set out eagerly for their old hunting grounds. But there were no buffalo. Only white bones gleaming ghostlike in the sun, victims of the white hunters' long-range rifles, remained as a reminder of the vast herds that once covered the plains. And even the bones were not to lie undisturbed for long; they were to be ground up for fertilizer. From creek to creek the Comanches journeyed. Their scouts ranged far and wide seeking the herds. The few antelope they met hardly provided them with daily food. Still there were no buffalo, no feasts of marrow bones and tidbits, no racks of meat drying for their winter needs, no buffalo robes to turn the cold north wind.

"They will come when the leaves fall," the Indians said. But the 177 frosts came and the weather grew colder, and still the plains were empty. The time allowed by the agent for the hunt expired. Some 648 gave up hope and returned to the reservation, glad to get their rations of flour, sugar, rice, and beeves. The agent sent an emissary with food to bring the others back to the reservation. The aid came in good time, for they were starving. They had killed some of their ponies and were suffering in the season's early snowstorm. They accepted the inevitable and returned sadly with the emissary to the agency. Sullenness and despair fell upon them. The buffalo had failed, and they now began to realize for certain that their old way of life had ended. Several war chiefs abdicated, and there followed a noticeable trend away from communal life toward family life.

Now the Comanches began to turn in all seriousness to a source 177 of religious solace that could not and has not failed them. The Sun 795 Dance had failed them and they felt that their power-giving spirits

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[18] Agent P. B. Hunt, *Annual Report*, 1878, in Commissioner of Indian Affairs, *Annual Report*, 1878, 60; Hunt to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, May 11, 1878, and reply, October 14, 1878.

177 795 had all but forsaken them. Their accustomed guardian spirits, and even the Sun, lacked sufficient power to turn back the whites and to preserve their old tribal way of life; they needed and sought new power. The answer was peyote.

It was strong power, and it could always be invoked. Visions could always be had through peyote; it was reassuring to The People.

Peyote worship developed as essentially a group experience. It always has been, and still is. The old camp life was broken up. The Comanches were having to learn to live on isolated farmsteads. They yearned for the companionship of each other. In the peyote meetings they were brought together in the warm intimacy of the sacred tipi. They sat shoulder to shoulder in common experience. There they knew that they were not alone, and they could feel that all was not lost.

R. N. Richardson records the general belief that peyote was first used by the Comanches near Fort Sill, about 1875, shortly after they had been confined on the reservation.[19] D. P. McAllester, in his excellent study of Comanche peyote music, also sets the eighteen seventies as the period in which the Comanches first took up peyote.[20] This, it is true, is the time when the use of peyote in the form of a religious cult really took hold among the Comanches. Until their collapse and the failure of their venture with Coyote Droppings there was no functional reason for them to rely on a drug as the means to supernatural power, although they had access to it and, indeed, had used it in a limited way for some time.

There is ample evidence in the data given by Post Oak Jim, Breaks [824] Something, White Wolf, Kɔwino, and Frank Moeda to make it quite certain that the Comanches "knew" peyote before the middle of the nineteenth century. In those days it was used exclusively as a war medicine—especially as an aid in seer-seeing to determine what dangers to expect or where to find horses or enemies.

Peyote, a small, gray-green, spineless, napiform cactus, is botanically known as *Lophophora williamsii*. It contains pharmacologically a complex number of alkaloids capable of producing a variety of physiological effects, including visual and auditory hallucinations, as well as a number of medicinal specifics for an as yet undetermined series of illnesses and pathological states. It is not, so far as has been de- 177 termined, a habit-forming drug of the sort that requires continuing 795 and increasing doses in order to meet a physiological craving. Unlike alcohol it does not cause a loss of muscular control or co-ordination, although it does produce a slowing down of reaction time accompanied by a sensation of euphoric relaxation and a feeling of absolute social harmony toward everyone present in the peyote session. Among the American Indians, at least, the effect is sedative and it has not the least tendency to rouse its partakers to violent behavior. It banishes fatigue and produces no "hangover" effects.

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[19] Richardson, *The Comanche Barrier to South Plains Settlement*, 34, n.55.

[20] D. P. McAllester, *Peyote Music*, 13.

The ritual use of peyote goes far back into old Mexico. The *conquistadores* found it in religious contexts in Central Mexico, and it flourishes among the Cora-Huichol and, to a lesser extent, among the Tarahumara. The word "peyote" is corrupted Nahuatl (Aztecan) for the word for caterpillar, "peyotl," so called because the fuzzy white tufts on the rounded top of the plant look like the fuzzy back of a caterpillar.

By 1716, according to a note of Velasco, the Indians of South Texas were using "pellote." The Carrizo Apaches are believed to be the group through whom it was transmitted to other Apaches; and the Comanches believe that they first got it from either the Carrizo or White Mountain Apaches.

McAllester presents a full and detailed Comanche version of the acquisition of peyote from the Carrizo Apache. According to this account, a young Comanche war leader lost all his followers in a fight with the Carrizos. He himself was scalped, stripped, and left for dead. The Apaches were holding a peyote meeting sometime later when the scalped Comanche entered their lodge. He told them that in four days seven Comanches would arrive among them. "When those seven arrive you are to have a peyote meeting. When you have the meeting I command you to give them my bow and this peyote. They shall take these things from you with them." This the Carrizos agreed to do; and thus it came to pass that the Comanches learned about peyote.[21]

As McAllester points out, his version, which was recorded in

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[21] *Ibid.*, 14–17.

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1940, is "more of an historical account than a myth," for it lacks the usual diagnostic characteristics of Plains Indian mythology. But when set against a hitherto unpublished and more pristine account, given to the Laboratory of Anthropology researchers by White Wolf in 1933, it may be seen to what degree the myth-making tendency has built up the story in the McAllester version.

« « « A war party of Comanches was returning from a raid in the country far to the west. When they were camped in the country of the White Mountain Apaches, they heard a drumming different from any kind they knew. Their leader said, "I shall go to see what kind of a thing this is. If I do not return, you will know that I am dead."

An Apache had had a dream that an enemy Comanche was to appear, so they were not surprised when this war chief showed up. Their leader had said they should bring him right in when he appeared.

When he came into their meeting, the Apache leader asked him why he was there.

"I wanted to follow up the drum," was his reply.

They were holding a peyote meeting, and the peyote leader told him to observe closely all that happened. In this way he learned the ritual. When the meeting was over, they gave him the drum and the Father Peyote. They told him where to find more peyote for the use of the Comanches. This is how we learned about this herb.

I was told this when I was a small boy by an old man who had been told it by an old man. » » »

White Wolf, at the time of the telling of this simple account was himself eighty ears of age.

Greyfoot observed that although the Comanches first got peyote from the Apaches "a long time ago," they dropped it "because some medicine men began using it in an evil way."

In the eighteen sixties it was coming into limited use again as war medicine, as indicated in the following account given by Breaks Something, who had been told it by *Mʌmsɔḵa*.

« « « Charcoal led us on a trip to find where the peyote plants grew. The Apaches knew where it was, and they gave the directions to Charcoal. 177 195

On the road Charcoal finally recognized the place which the Apaches had described to him. All the Comanches spread out to search for the plant. They had never seen it growing before, but *Mʌmsɜk̯a* recognized some. He called the others to come look.

They all gathered around the patch and arranged themselves in the peyote-meeting formation. Charcoal was the leader. He made smoke to the peyote. He addressed it, saying, "We are going to take you for protection against the enemies."

Then he cut off the head of a big peyote plant just below the ground. He cleaned the dirt off of it, wrapped it in a clean cloth and put it in his pocket over his heart. Now he told the others to cut all the peyote they needed. He said they would have a meeting that evening.

For their peyote lodge they cut brush which they formed in the shape of a tipi and covered with robes. Charcoal formed the earth crescent and fireplace in the center. All prepared for the meeting; they bathed and returned to the camp to get painted up. Then they entered the tipi in the ceremonial fashion. *Mʌmsɜk̯a* was the fire tender. Charcoal placed the first button he had cut on the crescent for the road medicine, Father Peyote. He lit a cigarette with a coal, and then he spoke to the peyote. He told it he heard it had power; he was going into enemy territory; and he told it he was going to carry it for protection. He put his cigarette down and chewed some [783] wild sage which he rubbed over his body as a purifier. The other men did the same.

Now a bag of peyote buttons was brought in. Charcoal took four. Each of the other men was also given four.

Then each man chewed a piece of peyote into a pulp. He spewed it out into his hand, made four circular motions toward the fire, and swallowed it. Then he spit in his hands and rubbed them over his head, arms, and ears to take away aches and pains, and to hear better.

Charcoal used his bow for the singer's staff. A rattle and drum had been brought along for the occasion. Each man sang four songs as they passed the staff and the rattle and drum around the circle.

177 Then they passed out more peyote.

795 Finally, Charcoal spoke up: "*Mʌmsɜḳa,* stir the fire. I have learned that tomorrow we shall all be killed."

He smoked again and spoke to the peyote, telling it that he did not expect anything bad like this from it. Now he was in a very dangerous place, he said.

Next he talked to his followers.

"Tomorrow we go over a certain hill. I have seen that there will be two companies of soldiers there. We might as well die now. Let this peyote kill us right here! Eat a lot of it."

With tears in his eyes, he ate more and more.

At midnight the water was brought in, and they all smoked. Charcoal again upbraided the peyote for treating him thus, and he ate more and more peyote.

After a while Charcoal spoke again.

"I have learned more," he said. "Tomorrow we shall meet some enemies, but no harm will come to us. We shall go on and capture some horses and get home safely. There will be a gray one for me."

The next morning they ate breakfast and prepared to leave. They traveled a bit and went up a hill. On an opposite hill, across a creek they saw two companies of soldiers. After a drill, the soldiers left. Our people went down the hill and traveled southwest all day long. At night they came upon an enemy camp where there were many horses, among them a gray one. Cried Charcoal, "That's *my* horse."

They gathered up the horses and made for home, Charcoal riding the gray.

This shows the wonderful power of peyote. It all came true. » » »

Charcoal's first peyote button was preserved by him until his death, when he gave it to a friend, who in time gave it to *Mʌmsɜḳa,* who still preserved and cherished this famous button in 1933.

With such powers, peyote took firm hold of the Comanches as soon as they settled down on the reservation. Its worship flourished, until in the early part of the present century it suffered from opposition emanating from missionaries and government officers.

The old leaders were waging a losing fight to retain their religious practices through the peyote sacrament until James Mooney, a rep-

resentative of the Smithsonian Institution, became interested in its 177
continuance as an aid to the psychological integration of the Indians. 795
Renewed interest and agitation resulted in a charter, granted by the state of Oklahoma on October 10, 1918, which placed the peyote ceremony on a basis of legal equality with other religions by providing constitutional protection through the establishment of a Native American Church charged with the responsibility "to establish a self-respecting and brotherly union among the men of the native race of Indians and to foster and promote their belief in Christian religion with the practice of peyote sacrament as commonly understood among the Indians."

From the Comanches the worship of peyote spread to the Kiowas, Wichitas, Pawnees, and Shawnees before the turn of the century, and between 1900 and 1907 to the Poncas, Kickapoos, and Kansas. This was perhaps the most important cultural contribution of the Comanches to the lives of other American Indians; for from these tribes, who received the cult directly from the Comanches, the peyote complex has spread throughout the plains and, in recent years, into the Great Basin and the deserts of the Southwest, where the Navahos are now beginning to adopt the faith.

The peyote ritual as practiced by the Comanches today differs only in minor details from the early session presided over by Charcoal.

Thus in time of their travail the Comanches found a new faith to help them through their great emotional and spiritual crisis. It did not solve their problems of adjustment to confinement on a reservation, but it helped to ameliorate their suffering and to prevent total disintegration.

As life on the reservation settled down, the Comanches were not 648
always satisfied with the way the government fulfilled its obligation 657
to supply rations and annual provisions. Contractors were slow in getting supplies to the point of delivery, and the freighters were slower still. The goods were often misdelivered and had to be reshipped. It was difficult for freighters to cross the swollen streams. Sometimes delivery was months behind, causing tremendous suffering on the part of the Indians.[22] When they did arrive at the reservation,

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[22] Hunt, *Annual Report*, 1885, in Commissioner of Indian Affairs, *Annual Report*, 1885, 7.

x640 657 rations. During the fiscal year 1909–10 only eighty-seven, all of whom were unable to work, received rations, to the amount of \$4,335.90.[24]

The breakdown of established norms of behavior and the change to new patterns of conduct resulted in many social conflicts and disturbances. The whites were not sufficiently well acquainted with the Indians always to apprehend the guilty parties and mete out justice as well as some of the Indians. Horse thieves preyed on the Indians' herds. It was easy to round up a bunch of ponies in the isolated portions of the Comanche lands and run them off into the Chickasaw country or into Texas, where they had a ready sale.

177 x648 625 657 To assist the agents in maintaining order on the reservation, Congress in May, 1878, provided for a system of Indian police. They were to be provided with badges, uniforms, and guns, and each officer was to receive eight dollars and each private five dollars a month in addition to full rations.[25] Their business was to ride over the country and keep watch for thieves and trespassers, to report any troubles that might arise among the Indians of the reservation, and to keep watch over the Indians' cattle and horses. They would work under the agent's orders.

Agent P. B. Hunt, whose task it was to organize the first police force, found it difficult to secure men willing to serve. He wanted young men, but the compensation was too small to induce men to volunteer for the service. Furthermore, the chiefs declared that it was not right for younger men to arrest the older members of the tribe. The agent reminded the leaders that the police were to work for all their people, to guard their livestock, to carry information to the agent and from him to their people; they would do work similar to the Cheyenne Dog Soldiers. In order to win the support of those objecting to the police, the headmen were commissioned to arrest anyone committing a crime on the reservation, thus satisfying them with a semblance of their old authority.[26] To complete the police rolls, Hunt found it necessary to refuse the Comanches the permit for their annual

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[24] Supt. Kiowa-Comanche Reservation, ***Annual Report***, 1910 (Oklahoma Historical Society Library, correspondence files).

[25] Commissioner of Indian Affairs, ***Annual Report***, 1878, p. XLII; Commissioner of Indian Affairs to Hunt, September 28, 1878.

[26] Agent J. Lee Hall to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, June 19, 1886 (Oklahoma Historical Society Library, correspondence files).

buffalo hunt until the required number of men had agreed to serve. 177
The necessity and eagerness of the Indians to continue their annual 625
hunts compelled them to fulfill the agent's demand.[27] 648x

When the force was organized on October 1, 1878, it consisted of 657
one captain, two lieutenants, four sergeants, and twenty-two privates. Their authority was seriously limited, and they were not adequately equipped for effective service. Yet, they consistently rendered commendable service and managed to settle without trouble many cases which might have led to serious consequences had a white peace officer attempted to make the arrests.

Matters of justice and punishment were partially entrusted to the 177
Indians also. Much of the agent's time was consumed in hearings and 648x
adjustments of smaller troubles, while serious cases made necessary 657
a journey to the federal court at Wichita Falls. The Indians refused
to use voluntarily the available courts in Texas. Both Agent Hunt 695
and Agent Hall recommended the establishment of an Indian court in which matters pertaining to the reservation could be handled. Both relied upon the aid of tribal headmen like Quanah Parker to help with difficult cases.

Situations that were new to the Comanches were handled by the Indian officers on the lines of old Comanche principles. As an example, we have a case remembered by Eagle Tail Feather.

« « « One Comanche beat another to a claim for a half-section of land. This one who lost out was making a big complaint about it, and the man who had received the land said that if he lost the land because of this fellow's objection, he would kill him.

Quanah Parker decided the case on old lines.

He called in two well-known warriors to decide on the war records of the two men. One of these warriors was late in coming in, so he sent me out in his place to get the record of the man who felt he was being beat out of his claim. I was chief of the Indian Police. The man who had the claim asked if he could go along too.

When we found the warrior, this man who had the land said, "Who is the better man, I or this other fellow?" He thought the warrior would give him the credit.

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[27] Hunt, *Annual Report*, 1879, in Commissioner of Indian Affairs, *Annual Report*, 1879, 64, 68.

177 "All right," the warrior answered him, "you asked me. I'll speak
x 648 right out. This other fellow is the better man. I was in a battle where
657 I saw him get off his horse and help a dismounted comrade out of
695 the midst of the enemy. He is a brave man and did a great deed.
You had better look out or he will whip you or kill you!"

I took this report back to Quanah. It was then up to this fellow to come out with a true account of a braver deed or else give up the land and abide by the decision.

He could not do this, so Quanah and the two warriors decided for the complainer. That man had to give up the land and keep quiet. » » »

This is hardly the way a white court would have decided the validity of a land claim in dispute. And we have strong doubts as to its being the way that it would have been settled by Comanche peace chiefs, if they had been called upon to adjudicate by the Anglo-Americans. But it was sound Comanche reasoning from a war leader's point of view, and in terms of the Comanches' premises it was just.

177 In 1886, provision was made for the establishment of the Court
of Indian Offenses with power to try minor cases. The court as con-
x 648 stituted that year was composed of three judges who were selected
657 by the Indians with the assistance and approval of the agent. The
692 presiding judge was paid thirty dollars a month; the other two, twenty-five dollars each. The agent certified Quanah Parker of the Comanches as presiding judge, Lone Wolf of the Kiowas and Jim Tehuacana of the Wichitas as the first members of the newly created court. The court was to have jurisdiction over both the Kiowa-Comanche-Apache and the Wichita-Caddo reservations. It was to meet twice a month.

The plan worked well. The judges fully appreciated the dignity of their positions, and the Indians were more willing to submit difficulties or complaints to their own court presided over by their own chiefs. The presence of two of the three judges from other tribes was intended to assure impartial hearings and sentences. The court assessed fines or jail sentences which sometimes were more severe than the white man's law assigned for like offenses, and a few times

the agent asked the court to reduce the sentence. Cases of murder 177
were subject to trial in the federal courts in Texas under the Act of
1887. Offenses handled by the court included the holding of Sun 648x
Dances, Scalp Dances, polygamy, medicine making, timber selling, 657
disturbances, fighting, stealing, and selling girls. The constitutional 692
jurisdiction of the court in the first four of these "offenses" is highly doubtful, but nobody bothered to challenge the issue in those days. The dance penalty was loss of rations for ten days for the first offense, and fifteen to thirty days for the second. The court functioned until the opening of the reservation to settlement, when it was officially abolished on July 1, 1901.[28]

After the Comanches and their Kiowa allies had been subdued 177
and placed on the reservation, the buffalo disappeared so rapidly 648x
that the Indians could not comprehend what had happened. Without them there was no hope for their old way of life. With longing, many told themselves that the buffalo had gone into hiding and could be brought back by proper power. In 1881, a Kiowa medicine man claimed to have gained the power to make the buffalo return, but his medicine failed him.[29]

While still hoping for a miracle before the inroads of white civili- 177
zation should sweep the last vestiges of the old way of life from
them, there came in 1890 whispers—good tidings from the north. It 648x
was the promise of the Ghost Dance prophet. The Comanches first 795
heard the story from the Cheyennes. High Wolf, a chief of the Sioux, and Sitting Bull of the Arapahos came to teach the new message to the Kiowas and the Comanches. These people were told by the visiting teachers that the Great Spirit had taken pity on his children. Wovoka of the Paiutes, alias Jack Wilson, had had a vision. When the sun was darkened in the daytime, his spirit went away from his body, ascended to Heaven, and learned the word of the Great Spirit. It returned with a message to Wovoka. Jesus had once come to the white people and they had killed him. He was now coming to the Indians on top of a new earth which would cover the old earth. He

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[28] Supt. J. A. Buntin, *Annual Report: Narrative Section*, 1930, I, 4 (MS collection, Kiowa-Comanche Agency, Anadarko, Oklahoma); Agent G. D. Day, *Annual Report*, 1893 (Oklahoma Historical Society Library, correspondence files).

[29] A truly beautiful narrative of this event may be found in Marriott, *op. cit.*, 142–54.

177 would bring back the spirits of the dead Indians, the buffalo, wild horses, and all the other animals which had formerly been on the x648 plains. Indians and whites would live together in brotherly forbear- 795 ance. But the Sioux, as they took up the Paiute-Christian pacifism of the Prophet, transformed it into a doctrine of aggressive retribution. All peoples except the Indians were to be pushed off the earth into the seas whence they came, and be drowned. All that the Great Spirit required of the Indians was to have faith in the teaching and to dance strange new dances. It would not be necessary to go to war. The dance prepared the people for the Messiah and would bring forth the new earth.

Far out on Elk Creek, away from the agency, a camp was set up for the Ghost Dance. The ceremony was strange and solemn. The dancers, both men and women, sang a plaintive and pathetic song, representing their struggles and hardships. It was a ceremony of despair. Some dancers wore white clothes so that the ghosts of the departed would not be afraid to come back and live with their people. With hands clasped, the dancers moved around a center pole to the cadence of a chant, while the medicine man in the center strove to induce a hypnotic trance in each of the dancers. As the dance progressed, the dancers succumbed, falling on the ground in a stupor and remaining there for as long as an hour. During the trance they saw visions of the antelope and bison in numbers, and the dear, departed dead.

Sitting Bull was sincere, although he was also getting wealthy from the fees he charged. Many Indians were deeply affected and followed him around trying to touch the hem of his garments or grasp his hand and pray, frequently with tears rolling down their cheeks.

Most of the Comanche leaders, including Chief Quanah Parker, had no faith in the new prophecy. They recalled another day in 1874 when a young medicine man claimed great power and had made promises to save his people from destruction if they would only follow him. They had made medicine and followed him to Adobe Walls, where their faith and dreams were shattered and they learned to their sorrow that their leader had no more power than themselves. It had been a bitter and unforgettable disappointment.

Almost the only Comanches to become converts to the new Ghost 177 ●
Dance religion were the Wasps and a few on the northern edge
of the reservation who were influenced by their northern neighbors. 648x
The rest remained indifferent. James Mooney attributes the refusal 795
of the Comanches to accept the Ghost Dance religion to their "general skeptical temperament," to their "tribal pride against borrowing from others," to their carelessness in regard to ceremonial forms, and to their faith in their own mescal (peyote) rites.

That the Comanches were not inherently skeptical is shown by their earlier gullible acceptance of Coyote Droppings' pretensions. To say they had a tribal pride against borrowing from others is manifestly absurd. Although they never abandoned some of their Shoshonean orientations, most of that which typified their culture as
Plains was borrowed, and Ralph Linton feels that of all the peoples [181]
he knows, the Comanches were one of the most adaptable.[30] The evidence set forth in this book certainly sustains his judgment. It is true that the Comanches were originally unceremonial; they cared no more for ritual form than they did for philosophical or political formality. But they were not averse to incorporating the ritualistic Beaver Ceremony into their culture, and at the end they were grasping for ritual to solidify the quicksands that were engulfing them. They had tried the Sun Dance, and by 1890 they were deeply committed to the Peyote cult—a highly ceremonial form of religion. It could not have been the ceremonial features of the Ghost Dance that repelled them. The fact is that they had been "immunized" to messiahs and salvation by miracle through their experience of 1874. That this is so, is indicated in the fact that the only group of Comanches who embraced the Ghost Dance as a unit were the Wasps, the one band that had gone home in 1874, refusing to participate in Coyote Droppings' Sun Dance. On one point Mooney was right. Peyote was meeting the Comanches' need with sufficient effectiveness to reinforce their immunization against the last, wild desperate appeal to a new messiah.

For many of the Comanches there would still be Christianity, and 797
although the first missionary efforts among them had been begun by the Episcopalian J. B. Wicks in June, 1881, Christianity in 1890 was not a present hope for them.

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[30] Personal communication from Linton to Hoebel, September 26, 1950.

114 The specimens which were collected have been deposited in the Ethnobotanical Laboratory of the Museum of Anthropology, University of Michigan (catalog numbers 14398–14450).

Mr. Carlson is responsible for the field notes, native terms, and phonetics. Dr. Waldo R. Wedel coöperated with him in the collection of the field data. The identification of the plants, documentation, and comparative data are primarily by Mr. Jones. Some assistance in identifications was received from Dr. J. H. Ehlers and Mr. Alfred F. Whiting.

824 Profitable investigations of aboriginal uses of plants are prac-
121 tically impossible among many Indian tribes because of their removal
177 to reservations away from their native habitats or because of long contact with the white man and almost complete assimilation of his culture. This is not true of the Comanche, for although probably originally a northern Plains tribe they are now located in the same general region in which they were found by the first white explorers in the area (19, pp. 59–60), and, although they have been in fairly close contact with the white man for over a hundred years, their conversion to "civilization" has not been of such completeness or of such long standing that all their recollections of old times have been lost. The average Comanche has a very good knowledge of his plant environment and particularly of those plants which are or have been of value to his tribe.

824 This Comanche knowledge of useful plants and the fact that our
121 list, although not extensive, could be compiled in a very short time would seem to argue against the prevalent opinion that the typical Plains tribes depended but little on them. While we are quite willing to concede that the Comanche were primarily hunters and that they relied largely on game for food, clothing, and the satisfaction of other wants, our data seem to indicate that this side of their life may have been overemphasized and their dependence on plants neglected. We feel that with additional field work the present list of Comanche economic flora could be readily amplified, and, further, that the ethnobotanical approach would be a profitable one among various other Plains tribes. Gilmore's monograph on the uses of plants by the Indians of the Missouri River region (7) demonstrates the great importance of plants in the lives of these sedentary agricultural tribes of the prairies.

114 Such data as exist concerning the ethnobotany of the tribes of

142 little beard."[8] However, it should be remembered that there had [144] been some Mexican admixture with the Comanche blood even as early as Catlin's time. All accounts agree that the women were generally low of stature, ugly and repulsive in appearance.

302 The men wore their hair long and generally ornamented it profusely, while the women cropped their hair close to the head. A Comanche dandy was most fastidious about his appearance and spent much time in the preparation of his toilet, especially if he was about to enter the presence of strangers. He did not shave, but instead, plucked his face clean of its scant growth of beard; and sometimes he also pulled out his eyebrows.[9]

291 The dress of the men consisted of leggins and moccasins, a breech cloth or flap, and a buffalo robe thrown over the shoulders if the weather was cold. Catlin's picture of a chief's children, made near Red River in 1834, shows the younger children naked, while the larger girls were comfortably and decently clad in buckskin, including mocassins, leggings, and a slip or dress with sleeves extending to the elbows and skirts well below the knees. Naturally there were many variations in dress and the buffalo and buck-skin were gradually supplanted by cloth and blankets secured from traders.[10]

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● 177 A combination of the savages and civilized in dress sometimes produced ludicrous results. A description of a prominent Comanche as he rode into camp on the Clear Fork, in Shackelford County, in 1854, runs thus:

> Naroni rode in grand costume. He wore an old blue military coat, with tarnished epaulettes, and covered with bullet buttons, a wampum necklace, almost equal to a breast-plate, numerous ear-rings, finger-rings, and a large ring in his nose, completely encircling his mouth, and bright red leggins.
>
> But his crowning glory was his head dress. From the crown of his head started out four long eagle's feathers, two on

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[8] Exploration of the Red River of Louisiana, in the year 1852, by R. B. Marcy, Captain Fifth Infantry, United States Army, assisted by George B. McClellan, Brevet Captain, United States Engineers, Washington, 1854; 33 Congress, 1st Sess. House Document (not numbered), page 98.

[9] Special Report of Surgeon Alex B. Hasson, Fort Phantom Hill, 1852, in the Gazette, Austin, 1857.

[10] North American Indians, II, plates 165-172. See, also, Marcy, as cited 98-99.

each side. To the center was attached his buffalo hair plait, 291
studded, at intervals of an inch or two, with enormous silver 177
medallions, of an oval shape, and at least four inches in largest diameter. This plait swept the ground, and he seemed to set great store by it, as nothing would induce him to part with one of the ornaments. A rifle and bow, quiver and arrows, completed his costume and equipments; but being slender in figure and short in stature, his appearance was not at all imposing.

In contrast to Naroni other Indians are described: 291
"Straightfellow was very miserably clad, dirty and ragged, with a very forbidding countenance, indicative of cunning and cruelty." While the women impressed the writer as being "Ugly, crooked-legged, stoop-shouldered, squalid and dirty, with haggard and prematurely old countenances, their hair cropped close to their heads, and with scarce a rag to cover their nakedness.[11]

The wonderful physical stamina of the American Indian has often 147
been commented upon by enthusiastic writers who have been wont to contrast their rugged physiques and powers of endurance with corresponding qualities in the softer and more effete civilized people. Doubtless nature, manifesting herself in the harsh environment of the plains country, mercilessly worked towards the elimination of weaker individuals so that those who survived to the age of maturity were generally sound. However that may be, it is certain that the Comanches had lost this physical superiority (if, indeed, they ever had it) by the time they had completed their southward migration. The fecundity of the women was low for a savage [842]
people, death of the mother at child-birth was not uncommon, and 164
rheumatism caused much suffering. Diseases brought by white intruders, such as Cholera, Smallpox and syphilis swept away many of the savages.[12] For smallpox they had no remedy other than [757]
the sweat bath followed by the cold plunge.

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[11] W. B. Parker, Notes Taken during the Expedition Commanded by Captain R. B. Marcy, U. S. A., through Unexplored Texas, in the summer and Fall of 1854 (Philadelphia, 1856), 194.

[12] The archives of the Indian office of the Republic of Texas, at Austin and of the United States Indian Office at Washington contain references to these diseases too numerous to cite. Also, the Bexar Archives and the Archive General, at the University of Texas and Mexico City respectively, indicate that during the Spanish period smallpox frequently ravaged the Comanche bands. For more general statements see, The Report of Alex B. Hasson, as cited and James Mooney, Calendar History of the Kiowa Indians, Seventeenth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, I, 173, 289, 168, 172, 176, 274, 311, 177.

607 who do not use this term, to joke in quite the same way, while TY, whose first husband's older brother was "mean," never joked with him and therefore never called him anything but "husband."

Women are usually the initiators of the joking, whether it is physical or verbal. It is not obligatory, however, and if the man consistently becomes annoyed, it is the woman who is considered in the wrong; the characteristic behavior is thus associated only permissively with the relationship. A man may also warn her that she has gone far enough, and she will cease; she is in a rather vulnerable position, as the man may know of some infidelity of hers, and if he should start making a public joke of this, she might get into serious trouble with her husband or brother. A woman is usually counseled by a sister or woman friend against carrying a joke too far, if it is thought that trouble is brewing. It is said that *háipia's* could take a lot of "ribbing" in the old days, [177] but that now they become annoyed very easily; there is no doubt that the [522] influence of the white man has greatly curtailed the pursuit and enjoyment of "off-color" humor which so characterized some phases of Comanche life. This is especially true of the joking which involved physical contact—pinching, making mock love, and so on—in public.

607 522 Verbal joking between *háipia's* most commonly deals with another person with whom the victim is suspected of intriguing; these jokes are not made flagrantly public, but a woman may, for example, use some physical peculiarity of her *háipia's* suspected mistress as the basis of a special name which she calls him in public, meanwhile taunting him continually in private. He becomes embarrassed and his wife suspicious—she may try to find out to whom this name refers. Practical jokes, or jokes about the victim's physical appearance, do not seem to be usual.

While jokes of this sort may be made between any unrelated man and woman (though the term *háipia* is never used in this context), the actual relationship provides for the most important outlet for sexual joking between the sexes; the spouse may not like it, but when it is institutionalized, he or she can make little objection. That there is a connection between this joking and the fact that the *háipia* is one's potential spouse through the levirate or sororate is undeniable; one informant even stated that these relatives went so far as to have actual sexual relations in the old days, and it seems reasonable that this should have been the case.

More distantly or doubtfully related siblings-in-law may act in accordance with the expected patterns or not, according to the individuals' preferences; a couple of examples of the *háipia* relationship were mentioned before. This joking pattern of behavior may often be followed with striking gusto to the most distant of relatives.

607 195 The use of the term *nímɪʔáraʔ*, "our (children's) uncle," as a substitute for *téʔcɪ*, "man's brother-in-law," or *páhapiaʻpɪʔ*, "woman's sister-in-law," is not

121 a case study of Comanche and a broader excursion into method.

128 While the acculturation vocabulary that was collected is extensive, additional textual materials and examples of day to day speech behavior collected from a representative range of unilingual and bilingual speakers would have been invaluable in establishing usages and investigating the ramifying effects of contact on Comanche. A further limitation is felt in the lack of a comprehensive treatment of Comanche grammar. If such were available, the analysis would have gained a greater measure of incisiveness.

177 2. Since their emergence and secession
178 from an early Plateau Shoshone tradition,[10]
the Comanche have undergone a 250 year
175 career of marked culture change and contact.[11] The earliest period was essentially one of cultural adjustment to a new style of life made possible by the acquisition of the horse, and culminated in the participation of the Comanche in the brief though brilliant florescence of Plains culture[12] that reached its climax in the decades spanning the year
177 1800. Thereafter the story is one of the increasing pressure of westwarding Americans

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[10] For a description of Basin-Plateau Shoshone culture see Julian H. Steward, Basin-Plateau Aboriginal Sociopolitical Groups, BAE-B 120 (1938); also Culture Element Distributions: XIII, Nevada Shoshone, Anthropological Records, 4.2 (University of California, 1941), and Culture Element Distributions XXIII, Northern and Gosiute Shoshone, Anthropological Records, 8:3, (University of California, 1943).

[113] [11] The principle references for this chapter are Martha L. Buntin, History of the Kiowa, Comanche and Wichita Indian Agency, M.A. Thesis, Univ. of Oklahoma, Dept. of History (Norman, Okla., 1931); James Mooney, Calendar History of the Kiowa Indians, 17th Annual Report, BAE (Washington, D. C., 1898); R. N. Richardson, The Comanche Barrier to South Plains Settlement (Glendale, Calif., 1933); and A. B. Thomas, Forgotten Frontiers (Norman, Okla., 1932), also Teodoro de Croix and the Northern Frontier of New Spain 1776-1783 (Norman, Okla., 1941).

[113] [12] Comanche Plains culture is described by Ernest Wallace and E. Adamson Hoebel in The Comanches: Lords of the South Plains (Norman,

● 177 and Texans pushing from the south until the Comanche were contained on the Fort Sill Reservation in 1875. The submersion of the Comanche by White culture was well under way by the latter date and progressed at an ever accelerating tempo.

175 The Comanche first loomed upon the horizon of the Spanish Southwest shortly after the turn of the eighteenth century. Their presence in New Mexico was definitely
[231] noted in 1705. They were already horse Indians at this date, having gotten the horse no later than 1690–1700.[13] As early as
175
648
721 1713[14] the Comanche were in conflict with both the Spanish and the more peaceable Indian tribes of the region and had embarked upon their historic role of marauders and horse thieves, striking always to the southwest. Although the province of New Mexico received the brunt of their attack, by 1758 they had destroyed a presidio in Texas and by 1776 they were crossing the Rio Grande to attack the Lipan as well as
175
648 the Spanish settlements. De Croix, a Spanish general, describes the situation in his General Report of 1781 in the following terms:[15]

> [721] "But these injuries are not comparable to those which the Comanche inflict. The province is overrun with these Indians, now alone, or as allies of the Nations of the North; at the moment not a foot of land is free from hostility. Its fruits of the field are destroyed, cattle ranches and farms abandoned, and the settlers in terror are fleeing to the settlements, nor do they venture to leave their neighborhood without a troop escort."

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(113)
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[178] Okla., 1952). See also Ralph Linton in Abram Kardiner, The Psychological Frontiers of Society (Columbia University Press, New York 1945), and E. A. Hoebel, The Political Organization and Law-Ways of the Comanche Indians, Memoirs, AAA No. 54 (1940).

[113] [13] F. Haines, The Northward Spread of Horses among the Plains Indians, AA 40.425 (1938).

[113] [14] D. B. Shimkin, Shoshone-Comanche Origins and Migrations, Proc., Sixth Pacific Science Congress, Vol. IV: 17–25, p. 21 (1939).

[15] A. B. Thomas, Teodoro de Croix and the Northern Frontier of New Spain 1776–1783, p. 77 (Norman, Okla., 1941).

[p. 142-B]

648 and child was allotted 160 acres with sec-
423 tions set aside for schools and public insti-
tutions. The allotments were to be held in
trust for 25 years after which time title was
to go to the Indians unless the President
extended the trust period. For relinquishing
their rights the Indians were to receive two
million dollars payable at some unspecified
date in per capita payments of $500 each
with 5 per cent interest paid annually. The
lands were to be free from taxation and
could not become subject to indebtedness
423 during the trust period. Thus the Comanche
[657] became citizens under the allotment system
[641] and rations were withdrawn in 1901. Since
these allotments were widely scattered and
[177] interspersed with White farms, the develop-
[621] ment of a tribal community was largely
precluded and the process of acculturation
thereby hastened.

175 In summary, the history of Comanche
177 contacts with Western culture shows an
early period of vacillating hostile and
178 friendly relations, largely tangential in
nature, with the Spanish, French, and
Americans which lasted until about the
177 middle of the nineteenth century. That
date marked the end of Comanche tribal
178 autonomy and ushered in a period of rapid
cultural change. Another fifty years may
see the old Comanche culture pass into the
legendary as it already has for most of the
younger persons today.

197 3.0. The Comanche language is a member
of the far-flung Uto-Aztecan stock first set
forth by Buschmann[23] and further delineated
by Kroeber,[24] Sapir,[25] and Whorf.[26] Sapir

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[113] [23] Johann C. Buschmann, Spurend der Aztekischen Sprache im Norden, Abhandlungen der koeniglichen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin aus dem Jahre 1854 (Berlin, Germany, 1859).

[113] [24] A. L. Kroeber, Shoshonean Dialects of California, UCPAAE, 4.66-165 (Berkeley, Calif., 1907), and Uto-Aztecan Languages of Mexico, Ibero-Americano, No. 8 (Berkeley, Calif., 1934).

[113] [25] Edward Sapir, Southern Paiute and Nahuatl, a Study in Uto-Aztecan, Part I, JSAP, n.s., 10.379-425; Part II, AA 17.98-120, 306-28 (1915), and continued in JSAP 11.443-88 (1914), (begun in 1913).

191 found among the 2400 or so Comanche, and
there is a complete inversion as one descends
through the generations as to which
191 is other and which mother tongue. Most old
people over 60 speak little or no English,
561 while most young people under 30 speak
little or no Comanche. Grandchild and
grandparent, as among immigrant groups
in this country, often have real difficulty
in communicating and the breach between
generations who know different ways of
life is thereby widened. Although most
Comanche between the ages of 30 and 60
are bilingual, the number who are equally
fluent in both English and Comanche is
relatively small. They are mainly men and
a few women between the ages of 40 and
55; the generation that stands midway between
191 the old culture and the new. A few
Comanche descendants of Mexican captives
563 speak Spanish in addition to English and
Comanche.

121 The degree of fluency in English of any
[191] individual Comanche provides what is
probably a fairly reliable index of his relative
[177] acculturation to American culture
patterns. This is perhaps best measured,
not by some formalized test of his knowledge
of English, but rather by observing his
choice of language and his command of it
in various speech situations ranging from
the intimacy of a family or other primary
group, on the one hand, to casual associations
in religious, economic or administrative
contexts on the other.[138a] Or the problem
might be reversed and the Comanche
spoken by younger individuals in various
social contexts could be observed. Such
observations when correlated with variables
of personality and status would be of con-

(113] [138a] See Feliks Gross, Language and Value Changes among the Arapaho, IJAL 17.10-17 (1951); George Barker, Social Functions of Language in a Mexican-American Community, Acta Americana 5.185-202 (1947); and especially Uriel Weinreich, Languages in Contact: Findings and Problems (New York, 1953); Einar Haugen's definitive two volume study, The Norwegian Language in America (Philadelphia, 1953).

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121 siderable interest and value to students of the psychological and sociological aspects
191 of acculturation. It may be noted that in speaking among themselves our interpreters
124 used both English and Comanche, although, significantly, in lighter moods they seemed to prefer Comanche.

191 The English spoken by the Comanche is, of course, patterned after the local Oklahoma American dialect and ranges from an acceptable standard English to the scant pidgin of an elder trading at a village store. The English vocabulary of one informant[139b] was seasoned with such expressions as "heap", "no savvy" and "me catchem". But for "ugh!" his English vocabulary fitted perfectly the stock comic strip version
(177) of an Indian's broken English. English has as yet no literary tradition among its Comanche speakers and the participation of most Comanche in American culture is at best little more than marginal. One is forcibly struck by the contrast between the colorful and subtle Comanche as spoken by the elders or as it is retained in traditional literature and songs[140] and the meager English of the young.

Comanche habits of speech can often be detected in the English of bilinguals, particularly those who learned English as a second language. These habits were especially intrusive in the pronunciation of English words, though apparent as well in word order, in the choice of words and their use in a Comanche-like sense. Thus, one interpreter, T, pronounced marrow as ma·. J pronounced jello, jero·, and could make no distinction in enunciating meal and mule. In many instances it would, however, be

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[139b] This individual, a gap-toothed and bow-legged old man of seventy odd, was a buffoon by temperament. He had been a jockey and a tolerated hanger-on among White ne'er-do-wells who were his probably amused mentors in the English language.

(113) [140] See D. B. Shimkin, Shoshone I: Linguistic Sketch and Text, IJAL 15: 175–188 (1947); and David McAllester, Peyote Music, VFPA No. 13 (New York, 1950).

[p. 241-B]

191 difficult to discover whether deviations from customary English usage were due to the influence of Comanche or simply to a faulty knowledge of English.

Similarly, the Comanche of younger people for whom English is a first language has undergone a great deal of simplification. It rather than English is the foreign tongue. The final glottal stop, whispered vowel or aspiration is often pruned off, and affixes, which carry the burden of nice semantic distinctions, are used carelessly or, in some cases, entirely omitted. Modern words which are often descriptive are frequently substituted for old ones and many more English words creep into the Comanche of the younger persons. English expressions are often uncomfortably clothed in Comanche phrases. All this is deplored by the elders who frequently complained about the impoverishment and contamination of their native tongue. One younger interpreter who was less adept in Comanche than English was constantly corrected by an older man who was something of a stickler for good Comanche usage.

The bilingual speaker in his role of interpreter is an important language creator.
191
794 Sermons in the Indian churches are for the most part preached in English by a White minister and translated extemporaneously by the native deacon or lay brother a few
191 sentences at a time. The performance of this function by J was especially skillful. Beyond what official questioning of older Indians occurs, there is little other formal interpreting, yet on countless informal occasions these bilinguals act as linguistic gobetweens, mediators of the old culture and
[124] the new. Finally, it may be remarked that our interpreters displayed a great deal of interest in comparing their translations and discussing finer points of meaning.

English has had another rather different
[177]
[195] influence on Comanche. Many of the younger Comanche feel that the speech of the older people is vulgar, an attitude that reflects the adoption by the Comanche of a White

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191 195 [177] sense of propriety and prudishness, and there has been a direct extension of English word taboos to the native speech which is unashamed and forthright. However, one interpreter who was a devout Christian was an exception. He had little hesitation in supplying or using a sexual vocabulary in Comanche yet was extremely embarrassed at uttering the vulgar English equivalents.

A new euphemistic descriptive word for *feces* or *urine*, naˀroˀipĬ (na-, reflexive + toˀi *come out*, + -pĬ, nominalizer), which can be translated as *waste matter*, has been substituted for the old word for *feces*, kwitapĬ, both in compounds such as the words for toilet-paper, toilet or chamber pot and also when it occurs alone. One of the older men laughed when asked about the word, but granted its position in the language. A milder word for *cheese*, kĭhtavicipĬ, *hard milk*, or the English loanword, ci·s, is usually heard in place of koˀavicipĬ *groin milk*, or koˀakwanaˀ *groin smell*. Similarly, [551] the coarse or obscene meanings of many Comanche personal names are frequently disguised by slight alterations in form. A comparable effect has been noted in Muskogee: "Certain Muskogee words are avoided when white people are around because they contain syllables that might be mistaken for some of the English "four-letter" words".[141] To the writer's knowledge the same thing is not found in Comanche, probably because the phonetics of the language aren't quite as likely to give rise to such interpretations.

198 Finally, we may ask why no pidgin or creolized version of Spanish or English arose among the Comanche or, in fact, among other North American Indian tribes, since these marginal languages are so prevalent in other parts of the world.[142] The answer, albeit briefly and inadequately

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[141] Mary R. Haas, personal communication.

(113) [142] See John E. Reinecke, Marginal Languages —A Sociological Study of the Creole Languages and Trade Jargons. Ph.D. dissertation (Yale University, New Haven; 1937).

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198 stated, is probably that the conditions
under which these forms of speech flourish
were absent. A relatively stabilized tangen-
198 tial relationship between a dominant and
648 subordinate people as between master and
slave or servant, missionary and convert,
or trader and native seems necessary for the
formation of a pidgin or creolized language.
Such a relationship never held between the
Comanche and Whites for any length of
time and no true pidgin ever developed.

197 Comanche is a dying language. It is being
steadily eclipsed by English which today
191 has a new and relentless prestige. Another
177 50 to 75 years may see Comanche cease to
function as a living language. The constant
contact with Whites, the teaching of Eng-
lish in the schools and, due to the fact that
the Comanche live on scattered allotments,
the lack of an integrated community or
tribal life comparable to that of the Pueblo
or Reservation tribes, are all factors in the
evanescence of the language. English is the
language of the dominant culture, the lan-
guage through which one gets on in the
world by means of widening social, economic
197 and political contacts. Though it is doomed,
the language is far and away the most vitally
177 functioning part that remains of the old
Comanche culture. Other traits are gone,
empty and broken forms, or compromises
with the new. Comanche today affords
ample evidence of the flexibility and tenacity
of language in the face of pressure from a
dominant culture.

121 6.0. Personal names, along with kinship
terminology,[143] represent a segment of cul-
ture where custom and language are vir-
tually inseparable, and it seems especially
appropriate in a study of linguistic ac-
culturation to describe the effects of con-
tacts with Western culture on Comanche
128 personal names. To provide a basis for com-
parison between the old and new practices,

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[143] Thomas Gladwin, Comanche Kin Behavior, AA 50: 73–94 (1948) discusses Comanche kinship terms.

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553 tutionalized joking relationship, such nicknames
551 were usually given by an in-law,
602 and more frequently than not were derogatory
or had some sexual or obscene reference.

553 A young man would often receive a new
name after he had proven himself on his
first war party. Or, a young warrior, who
aspired to the name of an old man who had
been a famous warrior, could ask permission
of the oldster to become his namesake.
The old man might then put the youth to
the test of equalling a feat well remembered
by the people. If the youth met the test,
the old man would be compelled to give up
his illustrious name and use a former one.

533 In earlier times names along with other
787 gifts were bestowed through visitations by
776 supernatural spirits who were sought out
by fasting and dreaming in secluded places.
[178] This practice, however, seems to have been
in eclipse as early as 1870, although many
older Comanche still bear names given them
551 by their guardian spirits. Thus, Comanche
181 names may be characterized as varied and
highly individual, a fact which reflects
Comanche emphasis on the worth and
variety of the individual personality.

551 6.2. By a study of the 2394 Comanche
177 names on the January 1940 census rolls
one may trace, from the older through the
[161] younger generations, the adoption of the
White system of patronymics and the consequent
displacement of the native naming
patterns described above. This shift was
accomplished largely within the past
seventy-odd years dating from the early
reservation period. Rollcalls, the taking of
vital statistics and census data, intermarriage
with Whites, rationing, attendance at schools
and churches, orthodox baptisms, trading,
and the casual bestowal of personal names
by the Whites were all factors instrumental
in the change.

551 Although the rolls were called every three
177 days, the men by name and the women and
children by count, as early as 1875, the first
657 formal census was taken in 1890 and names
of Indians "had to be definitely decided

551 upon and so listed. . . . each Indian was re-
177 quired to give the name he preferred and he
657 was encouraged to keep it".[144] "Grass
money", which was collected from White
[434] stockmen for grazing privileges on reservation land, was paid twice a year to each family according to the number of its members. This entailed a complete census each time and much struggling by officials with difficult Indian names was reported.

In an effort to systematize Indian names for the purpose of facilitating land allotments, etc., the Office of Indian Affairs issued a circular dated December 1, 1902, setting forth a number of rules governing the recording of Indian names on agency roles and their use in documents and for other official purposes: (1) The father's name should be the family surname; (2) The Indian name, unless too long and clumsy, should be preferred to a translation; (3) A clumsy name could be arbitrarily shortened by one familiar with the language, provided its identity was not lost; (4) If the use of a translation seemed necessary, or if the use of a translation had come into such general and accepted use that it ought to be retained, that name should be written as one word.[145] Though these rules were not always strictly followed for the Comanche, they probably accelerated and gave direction to changes already begun. In legal and administrative contexts such as land allotment, distribution of tribal income, inheritance, marriage, hospitalization, enrollment in boarding schools and voting, in short, as the Indians became more and more involved with the ways of the Whites, a fixed legal name became increasingly essential.

551 Every phase of the transition in naming

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[144] Martha L. Buntin, History of the Kiowa, Comanche and Wichita Indian Agency, M.A. Thesis, p. 100, University of Oklahoma, Dept. of History (Norman, Oklahoma; 1921).

[113] [145] F. W. Hodge, Handbook of American Indians BAE-B 30, Vol. II, p. 18 (Washington, D. C.; 1910).

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551 was Tittarritsa Namiquau from tïtarihciʔ *wee little one*, and namakweyuiʔ *one who strips himself*. The former was her own given name, the latter was her father's name. The Josie was acquired sometime after she had received her Comanche name, possibly at school or upon her marriage.

As near as can be determined from the rolls there are some 37 instances where the Christian name of a woman is not recorded until her marriage. The average age of these woman is approximately 47 years. One more example might be given: Clou Pakahwy, paʔkahwiʔ *one who throws an arrow*, is the married name of a woman of 52 whose maiden name is listed as Towakah Permamsu from tu·wikáʔ *crow*, and pïhimahmsuʔ *one who rejects a bunch of hides*, her father's name. The Clou is a Comanche mispronunciation of her own given name, Crow, translated into English.

551 177 [128] Since no person over 41 is listed on the census rolls as bearing only a Comanche name, presumably the shift to the new naming system was effected by 1900. The accompanying table shows in some detail the rate of change through the years it spanned. Although the sample is small, the asymmetrical rise in the per cent of persons having Comanche given names at the age-interval 65–69 years probably reflects the turbulent conditions of the years 1871–75. These were years of unrest just preceding and during the confinement of the Comanche to the Fort Sill Reservation; years marked by the last raids and fighting with the Whites, and by an abortive messianic outbreak in 1873.[107] It is also apparent from the table that the women lagged considerably behind the men in acquiring the White system of onomastics.

At the present time the pattern of using given first names derived from American models and family surnames is in full sway. 551 The family names are for the most part derived from the male line, usually from the

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[113] [107] E. A. Hoebel, The Comanche Sundance and Messianic Outbreak of 1873, AA 43: 301–303 (1941).

[p. 245-B]

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TABLE 1

Age Interval	No. of Persons			Number of Persons with Comanche Given Names Only			Number of Persons with Christian Given Names and Family Names			Per Cent of Persons Having Comanche Names Only		
	M	F	Both	M	F	Both	M	F	Both	M	F	Both
40–44	53	46	99	3	2	5	50	44	94	5.7	4.3	5
45–49	43	50	93	3	6	9	40	44	84	7	12	9.7
50–54	28	27	55	6	5	11	22	22	44	22	18.5	20
55–59	29	34	63	8	14	22	21	20	41	28	41	35
60–64	19	25	44	8	19	27	11	6	17	42	76	61
65–69	24	14	38	18	13	31	6	1	7	75	93	82
70–74	17	21	38	11	17	28	6	4	10	65	81	74
75–79	14	17	31	9	15	24	5	2	7	64	88	77
80 and over	3	16	19	2	16	18	1	0	1	67	100	95
Totals............	230	250	480	68	107	175	162	143	305			

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551 another factor in making original pronunciations and meanings opaque. There are quite a few instances of the father's English given name being taken as the family name. Anna Harry, Dorothy Tommie, Rhoda Pauah (poʔoʔ, from English, *Paul*), and Ned Timbo, from his father's given name, tïmo·ʔ, (from English, *Tim*, *Tom*, *Timothy* or the like) which was bestowed by a government agent, are examples. James Pedicks (from Felix), and Lilly Tomah sah, from Thomas or the Spanish, Tomas, or the Spanish feminine form, Tomasa, may be added.

A man of 60 is listed as Andrew Aunahro (Perdasofpy). Perdasofpy is an alternative family name after his father, pihïrïsohpeʔ *one who dips in something hairy*. The Aunahro is simply the Comanche pronunciation of *Andrew*, ʔamaruʔ. Paul Pauau (Paul), 69; and Minnie Mahney, from Minnie, pronounced mení·ʔ, a woman of 53, also appear on the rolls; their first and second names are really one and the same. One man whose Comanche name was tuniwikitÏ *one who runs as hard as he can*, appears on the rolls as Tony Wocket. Hovaruthka, huvarïhkaʔ *coffee eater*, a man of 69, has the alternative name of Eli Coffee. Eli was said to have been derived from *eater*.

551 192 Several Comanche family names stem from Spanish loanwords: Komahcheet, kuhmahcí·tO, from comanchito, the Spanish diminutive of Comanche; Kopaddy, kupá·reʔ, from compadre, *Godfather or friend*; and Tahuano, tïhá·noʔ, from tejano *Texan*. These, along with a goodly number of Spanish given names, represent a major contribution of Spanish to the Comanche language.

551 177 A new fashion in given first names may be observed since the custom was first introduced to the Comanche some 70 years ago. There is a distinct change from simple, single given names to rather elegant and fanciful double names. This shift has no doubt taken its cue from a similar change in the local White naming preferences, but the

[p. 247-8]

SSI •177 writer has the impression, abetted by a checklist of the names of 335 Indiahoma school children, that the change is more pronounced among the Indians than the Whites.

SSI The plainness of the names of older persons is attested by the following list of given names of 51 men 55 years old or over (figures in parentheses indicate plural occurrences): Andrew, Albert (3), Alexander, Baldwin, Ben, Bert, Casper, Charles, Codose or Crose (from Spanish, cruz *cross*), David, Edward, Eli, Emerson, Ernest, Eugene, Frank, Fred, George, George E., Grover, Gus, Herman, Howard, Jack, Jesse, John, Johnson, Joseph, Joshua, Mat, Millet, Nathan, Oscar, Otto, Paul, Reuben, Robert D., Rudolph, Samuel, Terrence, Thomas, Tim, Timbo (see above), Tom, Wahnee (from waneʔ *fox*), Walter, Willie, Wilson, and Mike.

The given names of 86 women of 45 or over are likewise old-fashioned and simple: Ada, Alice (3), Annie, Bertha, Bernice, Bessie, Betty, Birdie, Clou (see above), Cynthia, Daisy, Dorothy, Eliza, Ella (3), Elsie, Emily, Emma (2), Erma, Esther, Eva, Faith, Fern, Grace, Helen, Helen Rose, Ida, Ione, Jane, Josie, Julia, Kate, Kitty, Laura B., Lena, Lillie, Linn, Lucy (5), Lulu, Mabel, Maggie, Mamie, Mary (8), Mary Ellis, Mary P., Mattie, Maude, Minnie, Mollie, Nanny, Nellie, Nora (4), Ophelia, Pearl, Polly, Rachel, Rose (3), Roxie, Ruth, Sallie, Sarah (2), Susan, Susie, Thuma (Therma), and Woonardy.

The giving of two first names seems to have come into vogue within the past few decades. Only a small number of the many persons who have double given names are over 16 years old. If the middle name is written simply as an initial, the individual is usually over 17 years old. Except for the fact that such girls' names as Ann, Jean, Mae or May, and Joyce, and boys' names such as Lee, Allen, and Wayne occur more often as second middle names than first names, middle names are not very different

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551 (Pierce?), Shannon B., Simon, Woodrow
Wilson, Wyvale. Feminine names offer the
following: Audrea, Balinda Mary, Cleo
Marcelle, Dixie Diane, Ernestine Marie,
Freddie Joe, Garnet, Hattie, Laurania Peral,
Leila Viletta, Luvenia Yvonne, Mandy
Louise, Marilyn Panzie, Marrel F., Mollie,
Sybil, Nettie Belle, Philomena Marian,
Prudence, Ruby, Sharon Vivonne, Sonia
Youmaine, Tinnie, Udee, Una, Winona and
Zelia.

551 Thus, we have traced the acculturation
177 of one aspect of Comanche culture, personal
names, from the old pattern described above
to the whole-hearted adoption of the local
551 Southern White naming patterns. There is
178 little left of the old, except perhaps in the
great individuation of given names. The
actual circumstances of the giving of first
names may show a few faint traces of the
551 old customs, but even that is doubtful. The
degree of acceptance of the new naming
177 practices may be taken as a rough index of
the participation of the Comanche in the
culture of the Whites. The older, relatively
551 less acculturated Comanche still bear in-
177 dividual names, while the younger genera-
178 tions have adopted the White pattern to
the extent that the old way has entirely
yielded place to the new.

128 7.0. Thus far the major portion of this paper has been devoted to the first of two objectives—a description of the effects of culture contact on the Comanche language, chiefly the lexicon. The balance of the paper will be addressed to the second objective, namely, an attempt to demonstrate the utility of these linguistic data for the student of acculturation and culture change. Some general observations based on an appraisal of the total acculturation vocabulary will first be given. There will then follow a set of postulates on language with special reference to culture change and a series of propo-

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given name is not infrequent in Oklahoma, but this is the only case for the Comanche.

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128 sitions designed to relate specific linguistic
data to the social, cultural, and historical
facts of which they are diagnostic.

177 7.1. On examination of the Comanche
acculturation vocabulary as a whole it is
197 quite evident that the preponderance of new
terms are those for material aspects of White
177 culture. While it cannot be assumed that
Comanche knowledge of White culture is
restricted to those traits for which the language
provides unitary terms, this fact bespeaks
greater familiarity with the tangibles
of Western culture than with non-material
121 traits. Nor is this surprising, as the things of
daily use tend to be the first part of one
culture to be both presented to and accepted
by another culture. Moreover, material
culture does not necessarily require a
spoken introduction to a borrowing people.
Non-material or intellectual culture, on the
other hand, is essentially transmitted
through the medium of language, and such
knowledge, unless it is sheer mimicry, must
necessarily be translated from one language
into another through the good offices of one,
a few, or many bilingual speakers. It is
probably unrealistic to expect that any
significant corpus of alien intellectual culture,
especially that of an esoteric nature,
will be incorporated into a borrowing culture
or accommodated by its language unless
it is espoused by some special class of persons
such as scholars, priests, rulers, or
artisans who occupy positions of some
554 prestige or power. Status groups such as
these were non-existent in Comanche culture,
191 and it is significant that those Comanche
177 most conversant with Western intellectual
culture also know English best and
use English in discussing these aspects of
Western culture.

192 The words added to the vocabulary are
almost entirely nominal forms. Adjectives,
197 adverbs, and verbs, except as these may be
177 derived from nominal forms, are conspicuously
absent and words for abstract concepts
such as science, government, machine,
etc., are rare. The religious terminology

[p.251-B]

192 where one might expect to find the greatest proliferation of abstract terms is likewise
197 relatively barren. It reflects a religious
177 fundamentalism preached by parable and illustration. Ideas like resurrection, apostasy, holiness, salvation, and penitence are translated, if at all, by clumsy descriptive phrases or sentences.

Several segments of White culture have received some linguistic elaboration. There are words for fourteen or so breeds of dogs, and the vocabulary of terms for card playing and gambling is fairly rich. Both of these flairs can perhaps be explained in terms of interests already present in the culture.
[231] Linton mentions the great preoccupation of the Comanche with the dog,[180] and Stew-
[525] ard notes the Shoshone predilection for gambling, common throughout North America, and which was shared by the Comanche.[181] There are a great many words for various diseases and many of these such as the word for diabetes, called *sugar sickness*, evince a good deal of sophistication. Indeed,
164 the diseases the Whites brought and the havoc they wrought could hardly have escaped attention. As one informant said, "Before the Whites came there was nothing but toothache". Mooney mentions smallpox epidemics in 1816 and 1861–62. Cholera was rampant in 1849 and in 1882 measles and whooping cough broke out. Measles again
743 reached epidemic proportions in 1892.[182] At the present time a well-equipped and staffed hospital is available and, in line with the general government health program, some knowledge of medicine is available to the Comanche.

177 The list of terms omitted from the ac-
192 culturation vocabulary is perhaps as in-

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197 [180] Ralph Linton, The Study of Man, pp. 428–29
[113] (Appleton-Century, New York; 1936).

[181] Julian H. Steward, Culture Element Distributions: XIII, Nevada Shoshone, Anthropological Records, 4: 2, p. 247 (University of California, 1941).

[182] James Mooney, Calendar History of the Kiowa Indians, 17th Annual Report, BAE (Washington, D. C.; 1898).

[p.252-A]

177 structive as those included in it. The fact
197 that a trait of Western culture is not named
192 does not necessarily mean that it is unknown to the Comanche, or that it cannot be described by them. But it does seem to indicate that it is not generally known or widely accepted. Thus, the very fact that a new trait is named is a good index of its general acceptance. One is tempted to hypothesize that the new words which are linguistically most economical or conform closest to Comanche language habits are those for the traits most completely integrated into Comanche culture.

192 The scarcity of technical, scientific, or
177 scholarly terms from the list of new words has already been commented upon and it is pointless to note those omitted. However, there follows below a selected list of familiar traits of Western culture which are not specifically named by the Comanche although they may be designated by more general terms (e.g., pekwinarohtüman *canned fish*, may refer to *salmon*, *sardines* or *tuna*; and *lettuce* or *asparagus* are included in the general word for *vegetable*, pokorihkapI *fruit food*): advertisement, asbestos, asparagus, blow-torch, bluing, bomb, borax, canary, cellophane, chick-peas, cider, cockroach, dictionary, dill, egg-plant, elevator, fountain, hinge, hobo, hops, insurance, lettuce, lightning-rod, lilly, lobster, magnet, menu, monument, organ, padlock, pickle, pretzel, pulley, refrigerator, rainspout, rose, screw, shrimp, skis, slot machine, sponge, sprinkler, starch, thermometer, tulip, vinegar, wax, whale, wine, zipper.

177 Finally, we may say that while Comanche
197 contact with White culture had had far-reaching effects, the Comanche language has preserved its essential form. Comanche
197 has reacted by adapting itself to new cul-
192 tural experience by using its own linguistic resources rather than by extensive borrowing from an alien tongue. Indeed, there is evidence that relatively few loanwords from English, which today is the dominant com-

121 192 197 of the old and the new, such extensions often afford clues not only as to how new traits are perceived, but also to the way in which they are integrated into the culture. The extension in Comanche of puha *supernatural power* to the spheres of both medicine and religion is an example (see **4.1**).

121 6. When a meaning has been extended, if a modifier is used to distinguish between what is native and old and what is foreign and new, the relative importance of the two traits may be indicated by the differential use of these modifiers (see **4.1**).

[194] [192] 7. A rare distribution of a phoneme or a deviant cluster of phonemes in a word suggests that the word has been borrowed; e.g. kv and ks in sikvic *six bits* and taks *tax, taxes*. The initial ts in tseetsee fly is an example from English.

[192] 8. A polysyllabic word of more than the usual minimum length which is unanalyzable into smaller meaningful elements is apt to be borrowed:[158] tomá·taʔ *tomato* (tomate, Span.); makaró·niʔ *macaroni* (Eng.). In both of these examples, additional evidence of their foreign origin is afforded by the fact that the stress does not fall on the first syllable (see **3.2.**)

9. In general, the more closely a borrowed word is assimilated to the phonetics of the borrowing language, the older it is and the earlier the trait it denotes has been introduced into the culture.

121 192 197 10. The longer a loanword has been in a language the greater the tendency for it to acquire a wider range of meaning or to be used metaphorically or in figurative expressions; e.g., mu·raʔ *mule* (Span., mula) in ʔevimʉ́·raʔyaʔkeʔ *frog*, literally *green mule crier*.

121 177 192 11. The linguistic source of a loanword will suggest the provenience of a new cultural acquisition; e.g., the Comanche were

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[158] Edward Sapir, Time Perspective in Aboriginal American Culture, A Study in Method, Memoir 90, Canada Dept. of Mines (Ottawa, Canada; 1916) p. 60, discusses this point in some detail.

[p. 254-B]

121 introduced to the mule, bread, sandals and
177 vests by the Spanish; to money and admin-
192 istrative offices by the Americans.

121 12. The areas of culture represented by
loanwords may indicate differential effects
of several impinging cultures (see 4.3).

13. The number of loanwords in a language, while no absolute index, may indicate the extent or amount of contact one culture has had with another (see 4.3).

14. Other things being equal, the greater the proportion of loanwords and loan-translations in a language, as opposed to meaning extensions and new coinages, the more intense, intimate or lasting the culture contact has been.

15. Since loan-translation requires the borrowing of a foreign mode of thought, description or expression, rather than the incorporation of a foreign word, it reflects a more subtle influence than the borrowing of loanwords. The use of loan-translations in any number may be indicative of a deeper and more thorough-going acculturation (see also proposition 18).

121 16. When the analysis of what is appar-
192 ently a descriptive word is obscure there is a
197 strong likelihood that it is an older word:
piesuˀveˀ *bandana*, and pimoró·ˀ *cattle*. In these two examples there is, of course, also the possibility that meaning extension and borrowing respectively have occurred.

121 17. If phonetic or grammatical reduction
192 occurs in a descriptive word, or phonetic
194 reduction in a loanword, it is apt to be of
197 relatively early origin: ˀeksahpanaˀ *soldier*;
in this word ˀeka- *red*, has been reduced to ˀek-. In tehneé·ˀ, from English *ten cents*, phonetic reduction has also occurred.

121 18. The elements used in new descriptive
192 formations will often indicate the approxi-
mate date or period of introduction of a
177 new trait. The Comanche word for *soldier*,
ˀeksahpanaˀ *red belly*, describes a type of uniform no longer used; the words for *Democrat* and *Republican* refer to party symbols, the rooster and the eagle, of an earlier era. One could also include here the

121 descriptive terms for introduced articles,
177 such as the *beaver hat*, *cauldron*, or types of
192 blankets, which are no longer in general use, although the names for them are retained in the vocabulary.

121 Modes of perception as these may be dictated by language and may also be revealed in new descriptive words.[159] The Comanche
121 characteristically describe many new traits,
192 particularly implements and machines, in dynamic, functional terms rather than static ones of color, size and shape. One is
121 tempted to speculate whether this may be
181 correlated with Comanche personality as described by Kardiner who comments upon, "the emphasis on activity itself",[160] and notes their capacity to deal skillfully, assertively and self-confidently with the world.

121 Attitudes toward new traits, and temperamental or other psychological characteristics may also be reflected. The words for *whiskey*
192 and *prostitute* both use the word, poʔsa, which, while translated *crazy*, connotes generally deviant behavior.[160a] From the contexts in which it appears, ʔesi-, literally *grey*, also has broader connotations of being nondescript, drab, or unseemly. It is significantly used in the word for captive, ʔesinï·mÏ (nÏ·mÏ *person*).

The word for White man, taivo·ʔ, is used in the sense of *alien* to apply also to the products of white culture and to other races of men. The use of ca- *fine* or *good* in describing silk and gems indicates that these things are highly valued. The word for *rice* (*worm* or *maggot food*), may reveal a

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[113] [159] See Benjamin L. Whorf, Four Articles on Metalinguistics, Foreign Service Institute, Dept. of State, (Washington, D. C.; 1950); also D. D. Lee, A Primitive System of Values, Philosophy of Science 7: 355-365 (1940) and The Linguistic Aspects of Wintu·ʔ Acculturation, AA 45: 435-440, especially, pp. 437-39, (1943).

[113] [160] Abram Kardiner, The Psychological Frontiers of Society, p. 94, (Columbia University Press; New York, 1945).

[113] [160a] The Blackfoot word for crazy is similarly employed. See L. M. Hawks, Jr., A Psychological Exploration in the Blackfoot Language, IJAL 20.195-205 (1954).

[p. 255-B]

13: Simmons H-4 (no date) 1967 N06 Comanche N06
(1785-1819) New Mexico

* * *

175 648 728 [721]

eenth century. Although the Comanches resumed their attacks on the upper Rio Grande Valley in the following century, these were never as damaging as the blows which had fallen on the province in the years immediately prior to the treaties.

175 648 721

After independence from Spain, when New Mexicó was a remote province of the Mexican Republic, the intensity of Comanche incursions increased somewhat—Pecos Pueblo was reduced to utter ruin by 1838—but on the whole the raiders concentrated more heavily on the towns and villages of northern Mexico.

[701] [487]

Comanches, traveling in parties as large as 500 and fully organized under their own officers, annually laid waste entire districts as far south as Fresnillo and Zacatecas. A well-defined road appeared—the Great Comanche War Trail—which led from the high plains of Texas across the Big Bend of the Río Grande to strike at the mining communities and haciendas from Durango southward, and according to some reports, as far west as the Gulf of California.

The anxious citizens kept lookouts constantly in the field to give warning of the Comanche approach. Once the alarm had been sounded, settlers, and peones with their families fled to the security of strongly fortified haciendas in somewhat the same manner as the peasants of medieval Europe must have sought refuge in castles from warrior Vikings.

175 177

Rather strong evidence suggests that the Comanches during several decades of friendly contact with the Spaniards in New Mexico through observation had learned much concerning the European military system and tactics and had adapted these to their own service.

000

175 own service. It is known, for example, that the Co-
648 manches on raiding the plains of Durango, more
726 than once defeated Mexican troops in pitched
battles.

175 Riding down from the north in good order, the
Indians were organized under their own "generals"
701 and "captains" and in a number of cases even wore
177 articles of Spanish military apparel, gifts, no doubt,
of the authorities in Santa Fe. The entire question
175 of Comanche military organization during this period
is an intriguing one and deserves more study.

* * *

The details of Comanche history from 1820 to 1879, the period of conflict with the Anglo-Americans, are familiar to historians. From the accounts of Santa Fe traders, frontiersmen and scouts, and soldiers who fought in the last wars on the southern plains have come down to us a fairly sharp picture of the final days of the Comanche nation.

By contrast, the movements and activities of this great Indian tribe in the century and a quarter after 1700 remains, in considerable measure, a mystery. Some of what is known has been sketched above. A great deal more information, however, lies hidden in colonial documents, awaiting discovery by researchers. A start has been made, notably by Alfred B. Thomas, but much remains to be done.

The seven documents translated herein each throw small rays of light on obscure phases of Comanche history, providing clues to the tribe's relation both with the Spaniards and with neighboring Indian groups. Of particular interest is the summary of the treaty arranged with the Eastern Comanches in 1785

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 N06 Comanche N06

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THE COMANCHES ON THE WHITE MAN'S ROAD*

ERNEST WALLACE

The Comanches constituted one of the major tribes of the 105
southern Great Plains. They came down from the north 175
shortly after 1700 and within a quarter of a century had 131
established themselves as lords over a vast area extending
from the Arkansas River on the north to the Hill Country
around San Antonio on the south, and from the Cross Timbers or approximately along the line of the ninety-eighth
meridian on the east to the Pecos River and the mountains
above its headwaters on the west. For a century and a half 105
these spartans of the prairies successfully repelled all efforts 175
of both red men and white men to encroach on their hunting grounds, while at the same time they pillaged Mexican communities far south of the Rio Grande and made the frontier settlements of the Anglo-Americans unsafe.

Comanche culture was of the typical plains Indian character. 105
The Comanches were nomadic hunters, warriors, and raiders. They had no agriculture (in historic time, at least);

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*Ernest Wallace and E. Adamson Hoebel, The Comanches (University of Oklahoma Press, Norman, 1952) is a study of the old way of life of the Comanches. Acculturation [113]
and twentieth century development are topics outside the scope of that study.
Surrounded after their capitulation by whites who regarded their own civilization inferior to none, the Comanches, for lack of any alternative, reluctantly proceeded to [177]
accept in part the civilization of their conqueror or, as the Comanches say, "The White Man's Road." This article, taking up where the book leaves them, attempts to
trace briefly the historical development of the Comanches after they were compelled [178]
to accept life on the reservation. In addition to the cited source material, this article
is supported by field work of the author among the Comanches in the summer of 1945. [101]

[p.3]

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 N06 Comanche N06

105 no permanent villages. The horse provided means for rapid and relatively easy transportation across the vast expanses and, as a medium of exchange, it was a tangible form of capital wealth.

177 But the Comanches were over-powered eventually by the Americans. Americans crossed the Comanche hunting grounds on their way to Santa Fe and California frequently after 1846 and spread diseases that ravaged the Comanches more disastrously than the bullets from the guns of the soldiers and pioneers. The six-shooter proved to be for mounted men a superior weapon to the Indian bow and arrow. The iron horse moved across the prairies with a speed and an endurance that set at naught that of the Indian pony, bringing swarms of hunters, settlers, and soldiers into the Comanche hunting grounds. The hunters with a new, superior rifle began a reckless slaughter of the buffalo, and without the buffalo the Comanches could not possibly continue their old way of life. Armed cowboys drove their herds of hardy longhorn cattle farther and farther west to graze the nutritious grasses of the buffalo range until they were ready to trade in Abilene or in Dodge City for Yankee dollars. After the Civil War the government was in position to undertake vigorous military action.

618 657 These factors brought the United States government and the Comanches together in a peace council. By the Treaty of Medicine Lodge in 1867 the Comanches and their allies, the Kiowas and the Kiowa-Apaches, were assigned a reservation of almost three million acres in Southwestern Oklahoma. [131] The reservation was bounded on the east by the ninety-eighth meridian, on the north by the Washita River to a point thirty miles above Fort Cobb and thence by a line due west to the North Fork of Red River, and on the south and west by the Red River and its North Fork. The treaty permitted the United States to construct railroads, roads, military posts, schools, and an agency—none of which the Comanches wanted. The government for its part agreed to provide annuity goods for a period of thirty years while the Indians were making the transition to an agricultural econ-

omy.[1] Probably one-third of the Comanches refused to sign 648
the treaty and accept reservation life. But after the failure [657]
of the Quaker Peace Policy, the government embarked upon
an aggressive military campaign that resulted in the total
defeat of the Comanches in the early autumn of 1874.

The Comanches began life on the reservation politically, 177
economically, socially, and spiritually bankrupt. Traditional 178
culture patterns were no longer applicable. The chiefs could
no longer maintain control. Without opportunity to hunt [554]
and to raid there was no means by which the men could
attain social rank and prestige; the social system was frozen.
Religious and moral concepts seemed valueless; their medi- [829]
cine had failed them. The buffalo were quickly slaughtered, [229]
leaving the Comanches without a source of supplying them- [825]
selves with food, clothing, shelter, or other necessities.

The Comanches were expected to pass within the span of a single lifetime from the age of stone to that of steam. They were to accept the white man's language, his legal and moral codes, his religion, his food, his clothing. They were to build houses, schools, and churches, to purchase farm equipment and livestock, to improve their allotments, and learn to farm. It was a big assignment. Obviously, considerable capital was necessary for significant progress.

The cultural change was too rapid and too great for simple solution. For some there was no problem; they simply refused to take the white man's road and in an effort to resurrect the past, tried the sun dance, the ghost dance, and peyote—all in vain. A few farsighted individuals had realized from the first that there was no alternative for the white man's road. Reluctantly, the disillusioned began to take it. Favorable economic conditions made the transition easier.

Meanwhile, land hungry "Boomers" made stronger and 648
stronger demands on the government to open the reservation. They argued that the lands were not being used. One

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[1] Charles J. Kappler (comp.), Indian Affairs, Laws and Treaties, 57 Cong., 1 sess., Sen. Doc. 452 (3 Vols.; Washington, 1903), II, 977 ff. [113]

648 by one the chiefs were won over, and in 1892 a group of them
[421] signed the Jerome Agreement. The agreement provided for
an allotment of 160 acres of land to each Indian, for a common
648 423 tribal reserve of approximately one-half million acres,
and for the opening of the remainder of the reservation to
white settlers. The assignment of allotments was completed
in 1901 and before the end of the next year thousands of
white settlers had swarmed into the territory. But the
"Boomers" were not satisfied with the partial opening, and
in 1906 the remainder of the reserved lands were thrown
open after the 517 Indian children born after allotments had
been completed in 1901 had been granted their 160 acres
648 each. Simultaneously, steps were being taken to obtain
statehood, and in November of 1907 Oklahoma was formally
proclaimed a state of the Union.[2]

434 Aside from annuities as provided by the treaty of Medicine
Lodge, the economy of Comanche reservation society has
been based on leases, wage labor, and agriculture. Money
from leases provided the first significant revenue. It was
enough to allow the government to reduce rations and to
permit thrifty and ambitious Comanches the means for
[427] starting forth on the white man's road. Leases were of
three kinds: permits to graze livestock on the common tribal
lands, oil leases and the sale of royalties, and leases of individual
allotments for agriculture.

434 The first grazing leases were made by Agent P. B. Hunt,
177 who persuaded a group of cattlemen to contribute beeves
427 in return for the privilege of grazing cattle on the reservation.
The cattlemen had quickly spread their herds over
the vast areas vacated by the Indians. Each year hundreds
of thousands of head were driven to the northern markets.
The Abilene Trail followed the eastern line of the Kiowa-Comanche
Reservation; the Dodge City or Great Western
Trail crossed its western extremity. By 1877 the Comanches

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[113] [2] This introduction is largely from Wallace and Hoebel, op. cit.; cf., R. N. Richardson, The Comanche Barrier to South Plains Settlement (Glendale, California, 1933), for an excellent account with a different approach.

were troubled with trespassing cattle. As a relief measure, 434
the Commissioner of Indian Affairs prescribed definite 177
routes and regulations for drovers while crossing the reser- 427
vation, and made it a penalty of one dollar a head to drive [657]
cattle on the reservation to graze.[3]

But the regulations could not be enforced. Drovers left 177
the main trails and moved slowly across the reservation, and 427
it was extremely difficult to prove that cattle had been
driven deliberately on the reservation. The government [657]
reduced beef rations to the Comanches in 1881 just as a drought caused the cattlemen to be more anxious than usual
to have their cattle graze reservation grass. It was then that [657]
Agent Hunt persuaded a group of cattlemen to donate beeves to the hungry Indians in return for short term grazing privileges. The cattlemen gladly accepted the offer for it clothed their action with an appearance of legality; and they were convinced that if they refused the Indians would appropriate cattle for food anyway. The range was apportioned among the cattlemen who entered into the agreement. Once the cattle were on the reservation as a result of such an arrangement, it was almost impossible to get them removed. There was considerable grass, and the cattlemen saw no reason why it should not be used. Consequently, this sort of unofficial leasing was continued until a more satisfactory system could be obtained.

By 1885 the agent and a group of the Indians favored a 177
monetary remuneration in return for grazing privileges and 427
asked the government to handle the business for them. The 657
government refused to assume the responsibility, but authorized the petitioners to make their own contracts. The agent and Comanches thereupon proceeded to enter into

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[3] Commissioner of Indian Affairs to Agent J. M. Haworth, March 30 and April 16, 1877 (MSS. Oklahoma Historical Society Library, correspondence files, Oklahoma City); Agent P. B. Hunt to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, December 31, 1883, in P. B. Hunt, "Copy of Record Book of Commissioner's Copy Press Book of Kiowa Agency, 1882-84" (MS, Oklahoma Historical Society Library, correspondence files); Wallace and Hoebel, op. cit., 346. [113]

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 N06 Comanche N06

177 427 657 agreements with the cattlemen, and in the summer of 1885 received their frist grass-lease payments in money.[4]

But this system of leasing was likewise unsatisfactory. The Indians did not trust the aggressive cattlemen, and within a few years were convinced that their interest could best be protected by having the Washington government handle leases for them. Early in 1892 they named a delegation to present their case to the authorities in Washington. As a result, the agent was notified to submit one-year lease contracts for approval. Six leases, totaling 250,580 acres, were approved for the year beginning September 1, 1892, and Agent George D. Day reported that by that date he had collected $69,000 in lease money. Agent Day also reported that with the money he had purchased for the Indians more than one hundred new wagons, lumber for fifty new homes, and a "quantity" of livestock.[5]

177 427 After the Jerome Agreement was signed on October 6, 1892, the cattlemen were eager to lease and joined the Indian opposition to the "Boomer" demand to open the reservation. [435] In 1893 they leased 1,304,958 acres of the Kiowa-Comanche Reservation at the government price of six cents an acre.[6] [426] As a result of poor crops and good grass the next year, the agent proposed to spend the semi-annual payment of grass-lease money for young stocker cattle, but the vigorous opposition of the traders, to whom the Indians were in debt, caused him to abandon the plan, with the advice to the Indians that they purchase cattle on their own initiative.

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[171] [113] [127] [4] The Kiowas and Kiowa-Apaches for a time refused to accept any grass-lease money for fear that it was a scheme to deprive them of additional lands.—Agent J. Lee Hall, Annual Report, 1886, in Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, 1886, 131. The annual reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs were printed each year as official United States government documents, usually as both Senate and House documents. Most reports of Indian agents were included. All annual reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs were examined for this study. Reports and correspondence herein cited but found elsewhere than in the official printed documents will be identified.

[113] [5] Agent George D. Day, Annual Report, September 1, 1892, to June, 1893 (Oklahoma Historical Society Library, correspondence files); Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, 1893, 29. The Kiowa-Comanche Agency supervises the affairs of the Comanches, Kiowas, and the Kiowa-Apaches. In most cases the records make no distinction as to tribe, and it is not always possible to give a breakdown of data on a tribal basis. Consequently, statistical data in this article are for the entire agency except when otherwise noted or clearly obvious.

[6] Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, 1893, 29; Wallace and Hoebel, op. cit., 349.

After a prolonged controversy, Congress on June 6, 1900, 648
enacted the Jerome Agreement into law, and on July 4, 423
1901, a presidential proclamation ordered its execution. For 648
the surrendered lands the Indians were to be paid $2,000,000 423
in four equal installments whenever the Secretary of the 657
Interior deemed it best for the Indians; the unpaid balance [434]
was to draw 5 per cent interest, the interest to be paid annually.
The law set aside 480,000 acres for a reserve to be [421]
held in common by the tribes. On September 1, 1902, all 427
except 60,000 acres of this reserve had been leased for graz- [423]
ing to the highest bidder at rates ranging from twenty-five [435]
cents to two dollars an acre, or for a total of $132,269.90 for
the year.[7] This was approximately $36 for each Indian man, 427
woman, and child on the reservation. When the reserve was 434
opened to the "Boomers" in 1906, the Indians were left without any common tribal lands to lease.

The individual allotment lease for agricultural purposes 423
replaced the lease of tribal lands held in common. From 427
the first, this type of land rental has been an important
factor in Comanche life. After allotments were assigned, [657]
each Indian, with agency approval, could lease his own land.
From October 1, 1901, when individual leasing began, until September 1, 1902, the agency approved 443 individual agricultural leases.[8] White men who leased Indian private land for agricultural purposes were required to make certain improvements on it. Those leasing in 1910 for a term of five years were required to place on each allotment a three-room house, a well, and to fence the land. The three-year lessees were to fence the land and to make certain general repairs. All improvements were to remain on the land when the lease expired, and they became the property of the land owner.[9]

The wisdom of such a policy is not difficult to understand. 427
The Comanches did not know how to build houses or to im- 177
prove their farms. They had not yet learned the value of [434]

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[7] Agent James F. Randlett, Annual Report, September 1, 1902, in Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, 1902, pt. I, 296. [113]

[8] Ibid.

[9] Superintendent Kiowa-Comanche Agency, Annual Report, September 1, 1910 (Oklahoma Historical Society Library, correspondence files). [113]

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 N06 Comanche N06

money or the importance of judicious spending. Rental payments—and there were cash payments even after allowance for houses and improvements—were at first payable on January 1 and July 1. These dates corresponded with the dancing periods, and the Indians could not resist the temptation to squander the money in celebrations. Consequently, the agent changed the dates to April and November in hope that the spring payment would be used for seeds, feed, and subsistence and that the fall payment would be used for winter clothing.[10] 427 177 434 [796] [657]

The total income from individual allotment leases for agriculture during the fiscal year 1944-45 for all Indians of the agency was approximately $500,000, of which the Comanches received about $200,000 as their share. Grazing leases that year brought the land owner from ten cents to one dollar an acre; cultivated land from seventy-five cents to five dollars. Lease contracts ranged from one to five years duration. More than 80 per cent of the Indian land was leased for agriculture in 1945, largely to white neighbors. Most of the 3,750 leases were on a cash rental basis, payable semi-annually.[11] 427 434 [177]

The Comanches have not always received full value for their land leases. Over exploitation has depleted the soil and destroyed the excellent native pastures. Lessees, having no assurance that they could renew their leases upon expiration, naturally sought to swell their own profits as much as possible. On the other hand, the Indians have benefited from this kind of rental system. Allotted lands have been fenced, wells dug, houses constructed, home furnishings purchased, barns built, and livestock acquired. To what extent this gain would have been made had there been no leasing for agriculture, it is impossible to judge. The individual allotment lease for agriculture, by bringing the Comanches into daily contact with the whites, caused the 427 423 427 423 177

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[10] Superintendent J. A. Buntin, Annual Report: Narrative Section, 1930 (MS, Agency Office, Anadarko, Oklahoma). This is a comprehensive and valuable report, containing a great deal of statistical information and covering the years 1901 to 1930. [113]

[11] Superintendent W. B. McCown, Kiowa Jurisdiction, Program Kiowa Reservation, 1945 (MS, 38 pp., mimeo., copy in possession of author), pt. I, sec. II, 4; Kiowa-Comanche Agency Records, Land and Lease Division (Anadarko), June 14, 1945. [113]

Comanches to acquire American cultural patterns more 427
readily than they would have otherwise. 423
177

The oil lease is a third type of land rental. It provided 427
revenue from drilling permits and from royalties, produc- 423
tion and sale. The Burkburnett strike in Texas, just across
Red River from the Kiowa-Comanche Reservation, set off
a great deal of oil activity. When the North Texas fields 423
were expanded into the channel of Red River, a four-sided
controversy developed over ownership of the south half of
the bed of the river. Texas claimed to the middle of the
stream; Oklahoma claimed to the south bank on the basis
of the Adams-de Onis Treaty and that the southern half of
the river passed to her when she entered the Union because
it was a navigable stream; the United States maintained that
the south half of the river was the property of the central
government; and the three tribes of the Kiowa-Comanche
Agency argued that the southern boundary of their reserva-
tion was the south bank of the Red River from the mouth
of the North Fork on the west to the ninety-eighth meridian
on the east. The Indians claimed the south half of the chan- 423
nel as a matter of equity, refused to accept as final the de- 657
cision of the Supreme Court awarding the disputed area to
the United States, and appealed their case to Congress. After
five more years of controversy the question was satisfac-
torily settled in 1926. The Sixty-ninth Congress granted the
three tribes 62½ per cent of all royalties from oil and gas
taken from the south half of the river bed. The remaining
37½ per cent was to be paid to the state of Oklahoma in lieu
of all state and local taxes due from such property and was
to be credited to the public school fund.[12]

By the time Congress acted, the amount of the funds in 427
dispute had accumulated to $1,200,000 approximately, and 434
the Indians' 62½ per cent annual share from producing wells
was about $100,000. But production in this area rapidly de-
clined. Royalties from it in 1945 were less than $10,000.

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[12] United States Statutes at Large (Washington, 1927), XLIV, pt. II, 740-741; also see, Grant Foreman, "Red River and the Spanish Boundary in the United States Supreme Court," in Chronicles of Oklahoma, II (1924), 298-310.

each "deserving" headman received a small herd. The 657
Comanches soon discovered that they did not care for lamb 231
chops or mutton stew, and there was not one who knew how 236
to weave a rug or cared to learn. Boys chased the animals [262]
on the prairie and shot them with bow and arrow. The se- [286]
vere winter that followed took a heavy toll.[20] Camp dogs, wolves, and coyotes got what was left. More sheep were issued in 1878 but most of these died for lack of proper care. The wool could not be marketed satisfactorily, sheep required much care, and the Comanches disliked sheep so much that the plan to make sheepherders of them was abandoned.

MacKenzie had issued the Indians a few cattle. It would 657
have been better had he purchased cattle with the money 231
he spent for sheep and goats. The Comanches appreciated cattle. The transition from buffalo hunters and horse herders to cattlemen would have been relatively easy. But the
obstacles were too great. The white cattlemen of the area, [177]
wanting the grass and opposed to competition, supported the
government's policy of making farmers of the Indians. Cat- [471]
tle required considerable capital investment and the Co-
manches had no money. When the subsistence allowance of [261]
three dollars a month was inadequate or the supplies late [434]
in arriving, the Indians ate the stocker cattle acquired by government issue or by purchase. Nevertheless, a few Comanches did obtain herds. Tabanica, who lived four miles north, and Quanah Parker, twenty miles west of Fort Sill, were the first to have herds of their own.

Most of the agents adhered to the government policy of 657
making farmers of the Indians. Since the country along the 241
Washita River appears to be more suitable for agriculture [361]
than that in the vicinity of Fort Sill, the Fort Sill and Wichita agencies were consolidated in September, 1878, and placed on the south bank of the Washita at the present site of the small city of Anadarko. The Indian Office then instructed Agent P. B. Hunt to have all the Indians begin farming.

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[20] Agent J. M. Haworth, Annual Report, 1875 and 1876, in Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, 1875, 273, and 1876, 52.

to hear the echoes, and one boy asked his mother to make 657
him a bed in the fireplace that he might look up the chim- 342
ney at the stars. Only 27 Comanche families were living [422]
in houses in 1886, and in 1901 the majority of the 3,713 Indians
of the reservation lived in tents, tipis, and in small boxed
houses along the streams. Water was obtained from running [312]
streams and bedding was filthy; there were no screens on [513]
the houses, no toilets, and no effort was made to have clean, [514]
wholesome food. [261]

After allotments were made, home building increased rap- 342
idly. The Indians received payment for their ceded lands
and realized that they must cease to wander. White neigh- [177]
bors soon had homes on the tracts they had taken and this
stimulated a desire on the part of some families to imitate.
It has been stated previously that whites who leased Indian [427]
lands for a five-year period were required to erect and leave
a three-room house on each allotment. Each year new houses
went up; in 1930 twenty-one were built at an average cost
of $1,636.22. By that time 90 per cent of the Indian families [514]
had good frame homes with sanitary toilets and other out-
buildings.[22]

The homes compare to an advantage with the rural homes
of white neighbors. Superintendent Buntin in his 1930 re- [422]
port estimated that the value of home furniture averaged
slightly more than $300. A few Comanche homes presently [352]
are large and clean, are beautifully carpeted and furnished, [359]
and have running water, gas, electricity, and occasionally a
good library. Since 1930 few families have lived in tipis or [312]
tents. But partly due to the depression and later war-time
restrictions and partly due to the increasing number of land-
less heirs, home construction has not kept pace with the
increase in the number of families. Since young married [591]
couples no longer have land and lease-money, they tend to
live with parents.

The Extension Service has sought to improve the standards 657
of home life. It enrolled 525 new members in Indian wo- 575

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[22] Buntin, op. cit., sec. II, 60, 18.

ceased to provide aid, the mission schools rapidly declined, 797
and within a few years all had closed their doors. St. Mary's 871
and St. Patrick's, both Catholic, were the only mission [657]
schools in 1945, and they had a combined enrollment of [658]
only thirty-seven pupils.[44] St. Mary's had not been one of
the early schools; St. Patrick's had not been a mission school
from 1909 to 1932.

In recent years the majority of Comanche and Kiowa chil- 871
dren have attended public schools. The long range policy 657
of the Indian administration has been to utilize the public
schools as the principal educational agency. It was gen- [177]
erally conceded that the Indians could be assimilated into
American society more quickly by the public schools than
by any other means. Good attendance and satisfactory re-
lations between the two races were essential for success.
The opponents of federal aid to mission schools caused
Congress in 1893 to take its first positive action of signifi-
cance toward the execution of this policy. There were very [177]
few public schools at the time within reach of the Indian
children and enough racial animosity existed to endanger
the program if Indian children were forced at once into the
public schools. The principal argument against admitting 657
the Indians was that they paid no taxes. But since the 871
white population was sparse and generally in poor economic 658
condition, it needed financial aid in order to have good
schools. Congress enacted legislation allowing $12.50 per
capita each quarter for children of non-taxpaying Indians
attending public schools.[45] By offering to pay tuition it
hoped to accomplish a major step in its ultimate goal to use
the public schools, to remove local white opposition, and to
appease the opponents of federal aid to mission schools.
When in 1901 Congress ended federal aid to mission schools
without substituting another special school or materially ex-
panding the existing government schools, the public school
was the only one left for the majority.

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[44] Martin Taylor (Supervisor of Education for the Kiowa-Comanche Agency) to Wallace, personal interview, June 12, 1945.

[45] Commissioner of Indian Affairs, *Annual Report*, 1893, 17.

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 N06 Comanche N06

657 But the movement to the public schools required time.
871 Although Congress had enacted legislation as early as 1891
permitting officials to compel attendance, the law had been
used only rarely to fill the government schools. Compulsory
public school attendance at the opening of the new
● [177] century was not yet practical. Allotments were not completed
until 1906, the schools were few and small, and many
whites were still opposed to Indian children in the public
schools even for the increased revenue. Furthermore, the
Indians did not want to attend. Only forty were enrolled
in 1910, but the number increased rapidly during the following
657 years. By enrolling the orphans, destitute, and undesirables
871 in the government schools, the agency removed
177 the cause for much of the white opposition. In 1918 the federal
government ruled that the public schools must accept
Indian children on the same basis as white children. By
1930, when 884 of the 1582 Indian scholastics were enrolled
in public schools, practically all prejudice had disappeared.[46]

871 Teacher reports indicate that Indian children under fifteen
153 years of age progress as rapidly as white children of
657 the same age group under similar circumstances. Children
871 in the public schools do not get as much vocational training
874 nor as long a term as those in the government schools. The
Indian Office staff has urged all schools to include vocational
training courses in the curriculum and believes that a few
should adopt a program similar to that of the two government
schools in order to provide every Indian boy and girl
657 opportunity to obtain a practical education. About two-
871 thirds of the two thousand scholastics in 1944-45 were in
[658] public schools. The cost of the entire education program
on the Kiowa-Comanche jurisdiction for the same year
amounted to $164,104.72[47] or $82.52 for each scholastic. Compared
with state appropriations, this was a liberal expenditure.

797 Christian missionaries not only helped to fill the gap between
the restricted government schools and the public

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[46] Superintendent Kiowa-Comanche Agency, Annual Report, 1910; Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, 1918, 29; Buntin, op. cit., sec. III, 11.

[47] Taylor to Wallace, personal interview, June 12, 1945.

exert a powerful cultural influence at a time when the Comanches were groping for new behavior patterns. 797 178 They cooperated with the Indian Office and other agencies in an effort to improve health, education, home life, social relations, and economic conditions of the Indians. As a result, most Comanches today are Protestants.

As a part of its functions, the Kiowa-Comanche Agency 657 supervises a health program. Primarily, its program is both 743 remedial and preventive. The Kiowa-Comanche hospital is located adjacent to Fort Sill Indian School, two miles north of Lawton. The original hospital was built in 1917, but a new wing was completed in 1929 and a tubercular ward was added in 1936. Both additions are fireproof and modern in every respect. The hospital with a capacity of 121 beds in 1945 had never found it necessary to turn away any patients for lack of facilities or trained personnel, according to officials. Some 1993 patients, of whom 798 were Comanches, were admitted to the hospital in 1930.[51]

Since it is neither convenient nor possible for all the people to go to the hospital each time medical service is needed, a clinic is maintained at the Agency headquarters at Anadarko. Three other stations, each with a full-time nurse, and a full-time traveling nurse assist in looking after the health of the Indians. The state health service, with a 657 unit in each county, cooperate with the agency health service. 744 The annual cost of the program during the early 1940's 743 was approximately $190,000, largely derived from tribal funds. Patients unable to pay are not charged for service; the others normally pay a moderate fee.[52]

The health program has brought about a progressive improvement 657 in the health and in health standards of the Comanches 177 and the Kiowas. In addition to remedial and preventive 178 value, the program has had far-reaching cultural [164] significance. Like the Extension Service, the Christian missionaries, and the schools, it, too, is helping the Indians to

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[51] Buntin, op. cit., sec. III, 6-7.

[52] McCown, Kiowa Jurisdiction, Program Kiowa Reservation, 1945, pt. I, 9, pt. II, 24. [113]

657 make the cultural transition they have been called upon to
178 accomplish. As a result of its work, many tribal supersti-
177 tutions are being discarded for modern scientific concepts.
[757] Although hardly a Comanche would accept a white physi-
[756] cian at the beginning of the reservation period, the Indian
practitioner today is almost a forgotten man.

186 The Comanches are still confronted with many sociolog-
178 ical and psychological problems of adjustment. They have
177 not entirely disintegrated, nor have they been completely
182 assimilated. They are still Indian and want to follow the
Indian pattern; their environment, experience, and teaching
encourages them to discard it. They are intensely proud of
being Comanche, and cherish their cultural heritage. They
feel that they were unjustly robbed of their homeland, but
know that they must make the best of their situation. The
conflict between the old and the new often prevents the
acceptance of any regular pattern of conduct and leads to
confusion or unusual situations.

The matter of custom is vital to the Comanches. It is
[291] difficult to discard tradition. Some old women still wear
[302] their blankets, and a few old men continue to paint their
faces and to wear their hair in plaits. The tradition of gen-
431 erosity does not fit well in American society for it is an im-
[454] pediment to economic security. Their idea of a pleasant
life does not include saving, because saving had no place in
their primitive society. The give-away dance has not en-
tirely disappeared, and those who give are the losers and
afterwards may seek the aid of the government.

157 There still exists a strong incentive toward the glorifica-
181 tion of the individual. This character trait was a regular
[178] feature of the old social system, where the aim of the war-
rior was to gain glory and where there was constant ac-
knowledgment of his achievements. It led to an immense
[152] sensitiveness to praise and censure. The Comanches, as a
result, require more praise than the white man to function,
157 and they suffer more than the white man from censure. The
181 attitude was readily apparent in 1945. More than two hun-
701

dred Comanches were in military service. The people were 157
proud of their young warriors and showered them with honors 181
remarkably like the treatment accorded the warriors 701
when they were the lords of the Southern Plains.

The love of pageantry creates a problem. The business- 181
like course of white life deprives the Comanches of more of 178
it than they like. This characteristic of the people is ap- 541
parent at the annual Indian Exposition at Anadarko, a com- 181
mercial show sponsored by the Chamber of Commerce. The performance has little historical accuracy, but this does not offend the Indians. They are more concerned with the spirit of display than about historical authenticity. They will bankrupt themselves to get there, and then wear an unheard of costume with self-satisfaction. Any special occasion, as Christmas and July 4, affords opportunity for
pageantry. Departing and returning warriors of World War [726]
II were honored with feasts, parades, and variations of the [727]
old-time war and victory dances.

The Comanches have always gotten a great deal of pleas- 571
ure from social contacts. Today they tend to indulge in this 181
type of pleasure at the expense of their work and obligations. Council meetings, ceremonies, and family consultations once brought the people together, but now decisions are made
individually with white officials. The peyote ceremony was, [796]
in part, an attempt to satisfy the social urge.

At the close of a full life-span of time since they were 157
compelled to give up their nomadic life, a few Comanches still sit and dream of past glories and of an untrammeled people who dwelt in an unmeasured wilderness. In retrospect they see once more the trooping warriors as they gallop toward the fray and hear their defiant whoops. They sit in the charmed circle of counsellors of the tribe. Of reservations and agents, of farms and towns, of railways and other innovations they grow forgetful. There will be some who will continue to dream until the end of life.

On the other hand, the Comanches as a group have long 178
since ceased to roam, to strive for the old, or to dream. 177

178 They are working for a better tomorrow, reminding them-
177 selves as they build that "Wise is the Indian who cherishes his cultural heritage, and wise is he who adopts the best of the white man's, but better yet, is he who is wise enough to do both."[53] Within three-quarters of a century they have passed from the stone age to modern civilization. To some tribes the attempt to make the transition brought extinction; to others it brought a miserable existence on the fringe of civilization. There is no longer an attitude of despair among the Comanches. With the same persistence and determination which characterized their resistance to encroachment on their hunting grounds, they are adjusting themselves to live successfully in the new era. Verily, the Comanches have come a long way on the white man's road.

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[53] "A History of Riverside School" is staged each year by the students of that school. During the performance an actor speaks these words.

[ca.1818]

exception, however, to the general resemblance.—The Yamparacks 175
are more honest and punctilious in their dealings, 101
and much less addicted to thievery. This may be accounted 184
for, by the fewness of their opportunities of trade; the commercial [157]
intercourse between the Indians and whites, has
invariably had a demoralizing influence on the untutored [439]
Savages. [177]

The Yamparacks can probably furnish from 7 to 800 175
warriors. These frequently unite with the Comanchees, and 721
participate largely in their depredations on the provincial 701
Spaniards.

Of the Tenaways my information is less minute and authentic, 175
they being seldom visited in their distinct villages, [177]
by Americans. But they sometimes descend by families, or
small parties, to the Comanchee range, to solicit the charity [439]
of their brethren who are more contiguous to our settlements, [609]
and are constantly supplied with a profusion of such articles as their fancies or necessities require, and who are extremely liberal to their less favored and often destitute
kindred. From the representations of the Comanchees and 175
some of their own chiefs, I conclude their numerical strength 701
does not vary much from that of the Yamparacks. This 721
would place the entire aggregate force of the three tribes at about 3000 warriors, which I presume is a probable computation.

The Tenaways range through a mountainous district 175 101
that separates the waters of the Rio del Norte, from the 133
rivers of Texas, and they sometimes extend their perambulations to the head waters of the Red River of Natchitoches.
They carry on a small traffic with the Spaniards of Santa 439
Fee, from whom they receive blankets, knives and tobacco, 175
in exchange for the mules and horses which they capture
from the Spaniards of the adjacent Provinces. They often 628
mingle with the Yamparacks when traversing the southern 175
extreme of their range. The utmost harmony subsists between these several bands. They have no distinct limits assigned them, neither does one party claim, in relation to another, any exclusive sovereignty over the particular sec-

[ca. 1870]

624 authority is measured by the amount of wealth he may possess and his
554 reputation for courage and skill in war.

624 The authority of their war-chiefs often terminates at the conclusion of
701 a single expedition, their official term expiring by limitation.

Once a year they have a general council, at which they settle disputes
623 between rival warriors, make regulations and discuss matters pertaining
to the welfare of the people. In this council all warriors are entitled to
participate, which means, all the grown up men of the tribe. Occasionally
[622] a warrior of great wealth, that is the owner of many ponies, and of great
personal prowess, will exercise a sort of chieftaincy for many years together. But such instances are rare.

623 The council frame certain rules, sanctioned by custom, and not in con-
203 travention to the will of the majority, and these are proclaimed by a chief
man, who rides among the lodges, pausing at convenient points to recite
the law in the hearing of all the people.

673 Theft, adultery and murder are the cardinal crimes, and for the punishment of these offences, custom has established precedents which have all
685 the authority of a written code. For the first, the offender may satisfy
justice by restitution and additional gifts. The second is a crime which,
684 according to Comanche law, men are incapable of committing. The woman
guilty of this offense may be punished by castigation, mutilation, or the
infliction of the death penalty, at the will of the husband. Her paramour,
682 however, if disposed, can placate the husband by presents. For murder,
the penalty is death. The friends and relatives of the victim would disgrace themselves by compounding the felony. They are constituted the
avengers, and invariably put to death the criminal, if they can find him.
673 These are about all the offenses cognizable by the Comanche code.

538 THE COMANCHES ARE GREAT STORY-TELLERS. In the mild autumn evenings they gather about the lodges in groups of five or six, and each
one endeavors to surpass the others in marvelous stories, either of his own
538 adventures or those of some other person. They have a series of fables,
probably obtained from the Spanish Jesuit missionaries, who it is known
177 visited them almost two centuries ago, which they term the "Talks of the
[797] Liar." The Comanche name for liar is *esop*, which considering the striking
[175] similarity between the "Talks of the *Esop*-Liar," and the fables of the
Greek confirms me in the opinion that a majority of the lodge-fire stories
of the Comanches are but modified versions of the fables familiar to every
school-boy who is set to learn another language than his own. In these
fables the fawn is substituted for the lamb, the bear for the lion, the coyote

22: Dacus Q-3 (no date) 1960 N06 Comanche N06
(ca. 1870)

[ca.1870]

for the fox, the buffalo for the ox, the falcon for the kite, the quail for the 538
dove, while the enemy of all, the banned wolf, plays the same part for 177
the Comanche fabulist he has performed for all other fabulists.

The Comanches have, also, lodge-fire legends of their race, and of notable 538
men, and incidents in their history which have been handed down through many generations. One or two of these may prove interesting.

"A long time ago there was a great drought. The streams dried up. The 539
grass withered on the plains, then in the valleys. The heavens rained heat, and the dry grass took fire and burned over the whole earth. The animals all fled away, or died. There was nothing to eat. Qua-co-che-bitche was chief of a band. Among them there were many women and children. They lay upon the ground, and their hearts were weak. The sky was yellow with the heat, and all famished, for there was no shade and they had nothing to eat nor water to drink. Qua-co-che-bitche was a great hunter, and he prayed to the Great Spirit to send the buffalo back to the plains. Being strong, he took his bows and arrows and left the camp, saying that he would be back with food in six days. He traveled toward sunrise. It was two days after he left the lodges. He was wearied by journeying and fasting. The sun was sinking in the West, and Qua-co-che-bitche's heart was weak. He was ready to fall down. But he went a little further toward a clump of trees that were green, as if they grew by water. He saw a great stream flowing from under a hill side. His heart grew strong. He approached the crystal waters. He beheld the tracks of an innumerable herd of buffaloes. There were old ones and young ones—a great multitude. The trail was fresh. He quenched his thirst with the cool water, and was strong. He followed the trail rapidly. He soon came in sight of a great object, which he at first thought was a mountain. But on coming nearer it moved. Qua-co-che-bitche was alarmed. His heart grew weak. It was a great buffalo. It had a thousand feet and was very high and covered a large place. When it moved the earth trembled. A voice came to Qua-co-che-bitche, from the waters, bidding him slay the buffalo. Thus encouraged, he attacked it. He was surprised that his arrows were so effective. The great buffalo soon fell, making a noise like thunder and causing an earthquake. He cut a great quantity of flesh from the hump, and after strengthening his heart by eating, he started with some meat for his tribe. He went toward the setting sun. He had not traveled far when he met them, all coming at the command of a voice in the air to feast of the great buffalo. They went forward to the stream of clear water and feasted, for four moons, on the flesh of the great buffalo, and drank water from the pure stream. Their hearts became strong. They made shields of the hide of

24: Richardson H-4 (no date) 1929 N06 Comanche N06
(1854-1859) Texas

164 The health of the Indians was not always good. Veneral
657 diseases were virulent and common and there was not sufficient
medicines and doctors. Typhoid pneumonia is mentioned among
the diseases reported by the doctor who occasionally attended the
patients.[20]

241 The reservation farmer had his troubles also. The Indians
would turn their horses into the corn field, or turn them loose
where it was evident that they would get in the field. They would
pull melons no larger than an egg and were want to consume all
241 their corn before it had grown to good roasting-ears. In the spring
of the second year they refused for some time to plant their crops
657 until they had been given presents, but finally the agent persuaded
them to go to work without the presents.

578 Sometimes there was violence unto death. A chief engaged
684 in intrigue with another man's wife and, according to custom, the
injured man demanded that the chief compensate him to the amount
of a horse. When the chief refused or hesitated to do this he was
696 slain at once by the sons of the injured man. Then the father and
his sons together with their women and children fled from the
reservation and were not overtaken, although a scouting party followed
them for a hundred and fifty miles.[21]

● 177 And yet, notwithstanding these evidences of savage crudeness,
it must be said that at least some of the Indians were making
177 progress toward a more civilized existence. Under the direction
of the reservation farmer they worked and occasionally made fairly
241 good crops, but the amount of land in cultivation was small. In
657 1857, they made but fifty bushels of wheat off of the twenty acres
sown and 500 bushels of corn was produced on the remainder of
[567] their land in cultivation. For awhile the Indians were prone to
rely too much on their prisoners to do the work but after these
were freed and returned to their people in Mexico that abuse was
corrected. In 1858, the reserve farmer reported a better yield.
In the spring of that year he had divided the community fields into
six divisions in order that each of the prominent clans might have
[231] a parcel of ground suited to its numbers. He thought that they
would have made enough grain (principally corn) that year to

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[113] [20] J. Shirley, bill for medical services, March 29, 1858. Ms. University of Texas photostat copy. Neighbors to Manypenny, March 7, 1856. Ibid.

[113] [21] Leeper to Neighbors, April 9, 1858, Ibid.

24: Richardson H-4 (no date) 1929 N06 Comanche N06
(1854-1859) Texas

177 241 657 [231] do them but for the fact that the fear of the white frontiersmen and wild Indians forced them to keep up their horses and feed them much of the time.[22] This partial elimination of the communist system had a wholesome effect, but it would have been impossible to carry it much farther because of the scarcity of arable land. A division of land so that each family head would have had a parcel separate and apart from the others would have become utterly impossible after a generation or two. Thus the cramped conditions on the small reservation would have acted as a barrier to progress even if the Indians had been permitted to remain there.

177 Many of the citizens of Texas complained that the reservation Indians were treacherous and dangerous and yet some of those persons living near the reserve vouched for the honesty of the Indians and stated that they regarded them as friends rather than enemies.[23] The settlement and development of the country in the vicinity of the reservation indicates that the white people generally had confidence in the peaceful disposition of the savages. It is significance that the most serious complaints did not come from those persons living near the reservation but from settlements a hundred or more miles away.

657 871 157 Some of the children made good progress in school. In 1858, it was reported that ten boys were in school and in a later account they were reported to be learning remarkably fast. Thomas T. Hawkins, special agent, who was sent to investigate the reservation in 1858, wrote of the Comanches:

> I regard them as superior in natural sense and intelligence to any of our full blooded native tribes—and I have seen many specimens in Washington, in the west and upon my journey hither.[24]

626 623 (648) At times the Indians manifested some disposition to exercise tribal government sufficient to restrain unruly members. Once when a certain Indian, named Jack Porter, and two or three fol-

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[113] [22] Neighbor's report. September 16, 1857. Thirty-fifth Congress, First Session, Sen. Exec. Doc. No. 11, Vol. II. Also, Neighbors to Manypenny, May 14, 1856, and H. P. Jones, reservation farmer to M. Leeper, October 29, 1858, University of Texas photostat copies.

[113] [23] Thomas Lambshead (a citizen) to Manypenny, May 1, 1856. Ms. University of Texas photostat copy. Also, Hawkins to Mix, October 30, 1858, Ibid.

[113] [24] Hawkins to Mix, October 30, 1858. Ms. University of Texas photostat copy.

29: Hoebel E-4,5 (1933) 1969 N06 Comanche N06

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Plains Indian Law in Development: The Comanche

E. ADAMSON HOEBEL

174 Men have occupied the Great Plains of the West for a good ten thousand years or more. They came in, apparently, when the last ice sheet was in its northward retreat, and their archaeological culture seems to have been fairly stable over long periods of time. But the horse-riding, buffalo-hunting, tipi-dwelling culture of the eighteenth-century Plains Indian was something quite new in its development.

Before the coming of Columbus the Indians of the Plains were largely riverbound and not overly inclined to venture afar into the vast, poorly watered stretches of open grasslands. They had to go afoot.

177 The coming of the European altered the situation with drastic effect. The Spaniard to the south introduced the horse and thereby provided the means for extensive penetration of the Plains by native populations, for which the thick herds of buffalo and fleet antelope were an enticing lure. On the eastern frontier the French and British were working to cause a far-reaching displacement of the Woodland tribes. White settlements forced some tribes to move westward at an early date. And out beyond the frontier, other displacements were accelerated ahead of the line of settlement by the imperialistic rivalry of the fur trade.

The fur trading tribes sought ever to enlarge their trapping and hunt-

[113] Reprinted by permission of the publishers and the author from E. Adamson Hoebel, *The Law of Primitive Man: A Study in Comparative Legal Dynamics*, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, Copyright, 1954, by the President and Fellows of Harvard College, pp. 127–142.

177 ing domains at the expense of some of their neighbors. The British companies encouraged their tribes to drive off the French-allied tribes, and they gave them guns wherewith to do it. The French responded in kind, and the tribes of either party used their new weapons to drive the unarmed tribes on the western frontier before them. Thus with pressure behind them and an attractive lure before them, a number of the tribes of the Mississippi Valley sought sanctuary and prosperity in the relatively unpopulated lands of the West. The Comanches were among them.

. . .

101 The Comanches . . . appear in the sixteenth century to have occupied the country that lay around the headwaters of the Yellowstone and Missouri Rivers. They were an eastern branch of the far-flung Shoshonean group of tribes and at that time it is unlikely that they would have been distinguishable from other eastern Shoshoneans. But in the eighteenth century the Comanches moved down into the southern Plains, while the Shoshones were driven back over the Rocky Mountains by invaders from [177] the east. The Comanches became a discrete entity and one of the first, if not the first, of the Plains tribes to acquire horses.[1]

. . .

105 The Comanche cultural background was that of the so-called "Digger Indians" of the Great Basin. In the tradition of these tribes there was no great social organization. People moved and lived in small isolated family bands. Each was autonomous and economically self-sufficient on a low subsistence level. Religion was vaguely defined and almost wholly devoid of ceremonial structure. Arts were thin, and life offered little of richer satisfactions. War was a thing to be avoided, for the Basin Shoshoneans had no military organization and were wholly lacking in fighting prowess.[2]

105 177 In the Plains the Comanches never wholly shed this heritage, but in the new setting they wrought some mighty changes in their way of life. With adequate food resources and the horse they were able to prosper in numbers and so to enlarge the size of their bands. Yet they never forsook band autonomy for tribal government. Religion remained to the very end almost wholly an individual enterprise with few group rituals and no tribal ceremonials.

721 178 It was in warring and raiding that the great transformation took place.

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[113] [1] Ernest Wallace and E. A. Hoebel, *The Comanches: Lords of the South Plains* (Norman, 1952) pp. 3–16.

[113] [2] J. H. Steward, *Basin-Plateau Aboriginal Socio-political Groups* (Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 120, 1938).

/page 32 continued/

C Within a small peyote group will exist enormous differences in dis-
K tance to be travelled. Two cars in a family will frequently distort
484 the picture. The occupation of an individual will to a great extent determine the amount of travel time available regardless of the amount of interest in visiting, peyote, or pan-Indian affairs in general. Also, individuals who must commute long distances to a steady job will rack up high speedometer readings without spending much time visiting, etc. In fact, I have even observed some Comanches with widely dispersed kin and friends spending more time visiting than many Kiowas whole families live within a two mile radius. In spite of this, I still feel that the travel pattern of the Comanches and Kiowa is considerably different from that of the neighboring whites. Just how it can be measured or accurately described, however, I do not know.

C Turning now to the kinship organization, it is safe to say
K that the same complexity due to individual variations is to be found.
601 Moreover, the attitudes toward change color the data given by infor-
829 mants. In this way the father of a family that has kept its kinship
177 patterns (relatively speaking) may be convinced that the old system
602 has disappeared entirely. The converse may also be the case.

The concept of the ideal pattern has been preserved by all
C the /33/ older people I have met, Kiowa, Comanche; mixed bloods,
[562] Christians and Peyotists. The pattern does not seem to be directly
[191] affected by inte-marriages except insofar as the mixed marriage may change the dominant language of the family. The actual behavior
C
K patterns are changing in many respects. One of the chief factors is
601 the small size of the tribe (Comanche in this instance) which has
177 forced marriages to occur within the exogamous group to an extent.
602 Strictly tabu marriage have occurred both among the Kiowas and
[161] Comanches but these are still recognized as wrong and the participants
[582] [588] are stigmatized. The sanctions are not as sever as the traditional
[684] ones, however.

/page 33 continued/

C Among the Kiowas and Comanches, regardless of the community
K (peyote or Christian), or the degree of intermarriage, certain things
601 are held in common. Old and middle aged people retain the kinship
178 organization as recorded by the earlier workers in this field, almost
602 to the letter. What variations I have found are scattered and are
[191] probably due to individual variation. Within the younger groups the
degree of retention would seem to be variable with the amount of the
native language that is still spoken and not with the nature of the
home (mixed blood, white or inter-tribal; Christian or peyote; active
or inactive in Indian affairs etc.). Although the younger age groups
are especially anxious not to appear "primitive" to the Whites and
will not admit knowledge of the language, the kinship system, or other
earlier traditions, they often as not have the knowledge and do know
C to a greater or lesser extent what the kinship system is. In other
K words, it is the extent in the change of language which most directly
601 seems to relate to the change in the kinship system. The observed
191 factors causing acculturation would appear to operate upon the kinship
177 system via the language medium. For example, that a young person lives
602 in town and works with Whites and perhaps does not identify strongly
with tribal tradition, etc., is not sufficient to bring about a change
in his knowledge of and conception of the kinship organization in
itself. If, however, he loses his grasp of the language or he does
not speak the native language with his children then the whole system
may be lost to those individuals. I have made the acquaintance of
several young men who are strongly identified with Indian traditions
but, due to the fact that the native language was not spoken much in
the home, have no knowledge of the kinship system nor have they made
any attempts to learn it. I have looked into white-Indian mixed
marriages and the grown children of same and find that as long as the
native language can hold its own in the household the knowledge of
the kinship system will be retained. In view of this one may speculate
on the effect that integrated schooling in Oklahoma will have on the

/page 33 continued/

C younger generations in the next few years. It would not be surprising
K that the cumulative changes in Indian way of life during the past
601 hundred years shall only be reflected in the changing kinship in one
191 lump at one time. This rather than a corresponding curve representing
177 gradual change.
602

As virtually all of the active Comanches and Kiowas are bilingual, they use English kinship terms when speaking to the Whites. As there is no serious reason for the Whites to come to grips with the tribal systems this accomodation is satisfactory whether the terms have been correctly applied or not. Thus an adequate and comparatively effortless accomodation has been made by the Indian which serves to insulate the operating kinship system from the pressures inherent in the culture contact.

C /34/Except for the aged, all the individuals I have had the oppor-
K tunity to observe are becoming more lax in adhering to prescribed be-
602 havior. In those cases where behavior patterns are performed it is
178 not taken "as seriously" as in the old days. Much of this is due to the loss of adequate sanctions as well as to the disappearance of many of the underlying cultural reasons for the traditional behavior patterns.

At first glance it appears that the Kiowas have maintained more of the traditional behavior patterns than have the Comanches.
K This may or may not be so. The Kiowas still practice (in varying de-
602 grees of laxity) mother-in-law avoidance. There is still much of the
606 old respect-avoidance between siblings of the opposite sex. But as
593
178 the Comanches never had these avoidances to start with (where they
did it was to a much lesser extent) it is difficult to determine
C
602 changes in the Comanche behavior patterns. John Pahdoponi insists
593 that even those sibling avoidances which did exist in the past are
178 gone today. But John is predisposed to see the old order as having been destroyed, and that in its entirety. The traditional Comanche allowed the brother and sister to speak face to face, to eat at the same table although not at adjacent seats and to ride together

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C (a la automobile) but not on the same seat. John maintains that this
602 no longer holds for his own children and that brothers and sisters
598 will even dance together. However, I have never seen any of his
178 children break these strictures.

C While preadolescents frequently break tabus, this is to be
K expected from the examples of indulgence afforded in the earlier days.
858 The preadolescent had not yet come of age and was not considered
178 responsible or even capable of comprehending the total network of
responsibilities and strictures which he would have to follow as an
adult.

C The range of recognized kin seems to have shrunken considerably
K for those younger than about 45 years. This is probably due in part
602 to the fact that the ideal marriage cannot be adhered to and the
178 resultant mix ups tend to confuse the younger generations (in its
C turn due to a less clear settlement pattern?). Claim relationships
K also seem to confuse the younger people who do not wish to be bound
608 by them. To be so bound would certainly restrict the choice of a
[582] marriage partner to the nth degree although I do not think this is
C a motivating factor in the minds of the individuals concerned. The
K young people do not make claim relatives as did their parents. On
[178] the other hand, a claim relative of the parents or grand parents who
keeps close contact with the family will be recognized and honored
C by the young people. The practice of inheriting a claim relative
K after an older person's death is most often considered a great nuisance.
[428]

Factionalism

C The conflict in primitive societies coming into contact with
K technologically superior cultures, between assimilationists and tradi-
● 177 tionalists has been proposed elsewhere (Redfield 1953). I have been
186 attempting to determine whether this tension may be observed today and,
if so, whether it can be helpful in coming to understand the factionalsim of the Plains Tribes.

C /35/Historically there is some evidence that this dichotomy was
K an important one for the Kiowas and Comanches during the period of the
177 1870's to say 1900. There were those who came into the reservations
186 and those who held out till the end. Later there were the religious
converts and those who clung to the old ways of faith. Ever present in the Indian's judgement of his fellows was the gauge of just how white he had become; whose side he was on so to speak. The other side of the coin also held of course; how bull headed, primitive or whatever someone still was. To an extent this attitude pattern is in effect today but it is difficult to see how it determines the factions in the tribe or even adherence to a particular religion.

K To date I have learned more concerning factionalism among the
665 Kiowas than among the Comanches and shall, therefore, deal with them
[795] first. People are vocal concerning religious tensions and prejudices
(Christian vs. Peyote) and splits within the council concerning allegiances, i.e. Republican vs. Democrat, nor do they seem to pertain to major policy and direction. Tension seems to be centered over the
K methods of operation used by those in office. It should be remembered
[795] that relatively few are active in tribal politics and that both
Christians and Peyotists are minorities. The large bulk of the
K population are inactive and do not even follow. They may be listed
795 as Christians as often as not but neither go to church nor know much
771 more than the average bourgeois of the East what Christianity is all
K [124] about. Past field work has used as informants members of active
[114] leading groups and this study makes no pretense of being different.
The life of the "common man" remains virtually untouched in this area as far as I can tell.

K At present there is considerable agitation among the Kiowas
665 between an out group and the in group which controls the business
council. Leaving aside the sordid details etc., the line up suggests that there is a split here between a traditional aristocracy and an upstart, "shanty Irish," group. The opposition party consists of

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C one of the younger separationists is drawing closer to the Peyotists
665 to gain support. The result is that in order to maintain any semblance
795 of unity and brotherly love in the Peyote meeting John and his
"brothers" must withdraw from the political arena. /38/ Whether
C this withdrawal is successful may be questioned. I also wonder
K how real the brotherhood of the Peyote community really is. But
795 such is the ideal and it determines actions to an extent. One must
C also ask how strong the claim relationship of "friend" and "brother"
K is. It is certainly a formality in many instances. But I have heard
608 572 of cases where the formality was kept up in spite of many aggravating
situations only to be discarded after a tribial act on the part of
one of the parties involved.

C Granting that generalities are premature, some things do
K strike me as peculiar to the situation, that is some reactions to
665 rivalries, competition, or whatever, are not what one would expect
of our culture. The present factioning may be traced back in part
to a rivalry between two young men. One a Comanche the other a
C Kiowa. It has been noted that much of the lining up of the sides is
K determined by kinship and claim relationship ties. Something small
[602] may grow into something big. Similar situations have been recorded
[609] for other plains tribes in other periods. What does impress me is
the tendency to splinter, to withdraw. Rather than a cooperative
effort on the part of two or more opposition groups ending in decisive
action, there is instead a multiplying of opposition groups, less
C action and more talk. This, in spite of the fact that the frustrations
K of contact with the white world might also be expected to develop a
179 665 degree of concerted reaction to annoying problems. In any event
further investigation must ask whether the present situation is one
of long standing and if so whether it is due to the pressures of the
White culture and/or the nature of the native culture itself.

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Peyote

C Since my last report I have been able to attend one Peyote
K meeting and have been invited to several others which await the
123 arrival of more clement weather. The fact that I have been to a
meeting has made Peyotists more willing to discuss with me their
C feelings concerning their religion. I have been interested in three
K questions: The present functions of the religion and its relations
121 to other areas of life; the changes in the religion since its inception; and the relation of Peyote to earlier religious patterns.
C Due to the fact that I have not yet been able to observe a number
K
[123] of meetings at first hand I have to rely heavily on the statements
[124] of my informants.

In the minds of the Peyotists, their religion is and has
C been a persecuted one. During the formative years it was attacked
K
798 by the medicine men as being too White, by the Christian Indians and
the Whites as being heathen and backward. Today it is attacked by
C the Christians of both races as a backward cult and is regarded
K
[184] by the Peyotists themselves as the last area of truly Indian values
and ways that is left.

C Peyote never denied the older forms of power. It merely
K attempted to devise a new power which would be more effective in
795 coping with the depressing conditions of the reservation period.
778 What may be observed today among the Comanches is a transformation
[178] of the older forms rather than a break with them. A review of the
C history of the religion leads me to believe in the possibility for
K
795 a new interpretation of the "Christian" elements in Peyote. This
177 shall only be done superficially in the report.

/39/Other writers have listed the traits of the cult which correspond with older forms of worship and have shown the new combinations which have been achieved in peyote. It is only important to

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C consider here how the attitudes toward peyote itself have changed.
K The meeting as I have seen it conforms in most details to the descrip-
795 tions given by Mooney, LaBarre, and Slotkin, allowing of course for
177 regional variations. On the other hand there seems to be a marked
C change in the effects of peyote. Less importance is attached to the
K [787] vision and there is hardly any evidence of people passing out, etc.

Many of the older peyotists also had power of the older sort
C and even John Pahdoponi and Bill Saupitty have been healers apart
K 787 from their peyote functions. I have asked concerning the fate of the
177 old forms of power working on the supposition that if it were real
[756] it would not have dissappeared into thin air in the minds of the
present day peyotists. It seems that power came to an individual
through the intervention of the supernatural being in those specific
situations we may call quests. Due to the coming of the White culture,
the proper conditions for the quest were destroyed, i.e., sanctified
C areas, silence, natural surroundings. The Wichita Mountains were
K the traditional areas for receiving power. The bands did not camp
823 in the mountains, nor did they travel through them on their way to
778 [787] raid or war. This holy ground was open for small day light excursions
(berry picking, etc.) and for inter-tribal travel along the "peace
trail". Other than these activities the area was respected as holy
C and used only for the search for power. In spite of the changes
K 823 since the White inroads, many of the mountains are considered haunted
778 and ghosts still abound in popular Comanche and Kiowa parlance. The
177 older Indians do not travel far into the mountains and do not camp out
[775] there. Dreams are still a great topic of interest in spite of the
C K fact that they cannot confer power. One is liable to dream more
787 often and more vividly while in the mountains. The dream is still
able to impart a message if the dreamer is able to interpret it.

C K Peyote, in the early days, also had power. This because of
276 its manifest healing properties and because of the visions one could
795
778
[787]

/page 39 continued/

C get. In the days before the first World War there were many special
K peyote meetings from which the young men were barred. In these
276 meetings power contests were held, almost as a form of sport. The
795 miraculous was common place, miracles, healing and the forseeing of
778 the future. But this strong power of peyote, like that found on the
[787] quest, has almost completely dissappeared. The power possessed by
[789] the older men had to be handed down, and the communal power of peyote
C depended upon strong faith. Not only has the continuity of the power
K broken down but the power of peyote which does not depend upon teaching
778 has also weakened considerably. Moreover, the younger people do not
276 take the religion very seriously. I have posed the question of whether
177 the increasing concern with power and faith which comes with old age
771 does not offset this trend considerably. My informants answers are
instructive.

C In the traditional Comanche culture the young men were concerned
778 only with war power and only rarely with healing and wisdom.
But they did not deny the validity of the power which naturally came
to the aged. When an older man felt that a younger one was ready to
C learn his power that honour was almost invariably accepted. But in
177 the period from 1900 through 1920 the young men were not only frustrated
778 but were also con-/40/fronted with the White system which seemed more
771 powerful. As a result they went through a period of not believing in
the traditional forms of power. They refused to learn when the old
men offered to teach and the old men often refused to teach before
they died because they distrusted the ways of the younger generation.
In spite of the fact that this generation changed as it reached middle
age, and came to value the traditional culture and to believe in the
old forms of power, the chain had been broken and there was no way
to retrieve what had been broken and there was no way to retrieve
C what had been lost in youth. Many became more serious about Peyote
[276] but this was never enough to regain the power and faith of the past.

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276 Peyote lost its power at the same time and in much the same
758 way. The old men believed in Peyote exclusively. The younger gen-
177 eration could always go to a hospital or a doctor. This watering
771 down of faith by having alternative choices plus that period of
795 disbelief has been enough to change Peyote considerably.

795 If there has been a considerable change in the nature of Pey-
771 ote itself then one must ask questions concerning its present functions as compared with those of the past. Traditionally Peyote has been considered as performing two major functions, one is to continue traditional values, the other to make communal what was once individual and so to unite the members and thus enable them to cope with the threatening environment. Mooney saw the religion as regenerative, Slotkin believes it to be adaptive. Among the Comanches the picture seems to lie midway between the two with some evidence that major changes are in the offing.

795 The Comanche Peyotist has inherited his religion directly from its founders. It is not an import to him and he does not feel bound by what other tribes have devised in recent years, the ethical
184 points are not emphasized by the Comanche. As a result the findings that I will have must differ to some extent from those of Slotkin who has worked primarily in the Midwest and almost exclusively with the national organization. In spite of these differences there is a remarkable agreement on major points.

795 The rapid growth of the religion between 1870 and 1920 both
771 within the Comanche tribe as well as intertribally was, for individual
177 Comanches, a regenerative experience. The fight for religious freedom, and the reinjection of values to a disintegrating group provided the strength for many men, now middle aged, to surmount the difficulties of their lives and to achieve a modicum of financial stability and success. It served to make Peyotists proud of their heritage and to

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795 give them a base of operations from which they were able to partake
771 constructively in tribal politics. I cannot determine as yet just
177 how long this period lasted. The personality of Quanah Parker and
his successes in dealing with the Whites were an added inspiration to
Peyotists. But the period does not seem to have lasted very long.
The adaptive qualities certainly seem to have gained the upper hand
in a fairly short time. But there appears to be two sorts of adaptation at work; one is that inward turned attitude of the Comanches in
the local groups, the other is the more White or outward oriented
attitude of the Comanches in the national organization.

795 /41/According to the Peyotists in the local organizations, all
771 those traits which are Christian in appearance are merely used for
177 protective coloring. The cross, Christ, the organization into a
church, the use of Peyote as a sacrament etc. and so forth, either
have been designed purely to put Peyote on a fighting basis legally
or have very definite Peyote counterparts to the better known Christian
795 ones. Moreover, the ethical principles, with one major exception, are
771 only Christian in wording and are not felt to be at all identical by
177 Peyotists. Essentially the ethics and values of Peyote stem directly
577 from the traditional culture in the minds of the Peyotists. The ethic
of brotherly love and non-violence is the exception to this, but it is
not a borrowed Christianism so much as a necessary element in a situation which demanded the unity of an oppressed people and the impossibility of using agression. It is important to note that the call to
brotherly love does not really extend to the White man except in a
very abstract sense. There is no ethic in Peyote which is inconsistent
with the traditional values and no symbolism which does not derive
from traditional symbols. The dichotomy between Christianity is a
proof to this more than the antagonisms between the two faiths could
ever be.

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795 Peyotists express the difference between Peyote and Christian- 777 ity by the phrase "Christianity is too difficult". This in spite of [829] the similar ethics, the rigors of the Peyote meeting and the rigors of the older quests for power. What I think is involved here is 1) a fundamental difference in world view concerning the nature of man and his relation to the supernatural world and 2) the natural difficulty for a people to give up old ways and take on new ones, especially those new ways demanded by missionaries which frequently did not jibe with their own Christian teachings.

According to my informants, Peyote has no concept of sin. 795 783 That is, in spite of the fact that a Peyotist should not drink, murder, or whatever, he is not destroyed or cut off from Peyote if he does so. The ethics are felt to be good, if a man does not follow them he will incur the ill will of his neighbors and if he persists in his ways, will probably be an unhappy man. But he is neither condemned to hell nor is he denied the benefits of Peyote. Social sanctions there may be but no divine punishments. He is not cast out of the fold as it 171 were. This is much different than Christianity with its supernaturally ordained edicts, the breaking of which precipitates both human and supernatural punisment which may even be irrevocable condemnation. The Christian sees man as being forever at the mercy of a higher being to whom he must pray for forgiveness, he is forever at a disadvantage. 772 The Comanche feels that man is a small creature who must be borne up by the supernatural and who may suffer known consequences if he disregards specific directives in regard to the preservation of power, etc., but he is never an abject being who, by a human slip may lose his very humanity. It is considered (by older Peyotists) very difficult to give up this view of the self in return for the Christian view.

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795 The other difficulty occurred and is occurring on the every-
177 day level of culture contact. Peyote never demanded its followers
186 to do things that were strange to them. They were not asked to give
up wives, wear white man's clothes etc. Of course today this problem
/42/is almost passe and many Peyotists cling to older forms of dress,
etc., as a visual expression of their traditionalism. The religion
of the Comanche Peyotists of the local organizations is a preserver
of tradition. It is adaptive in that its "Christianisms" give it
protective coloring and also in that its aggressions are projected to
a future time. The unifying principles of the religion were never
translated into political action. The intertribal relations remain
795 on the religious level. The Peyotists in the national organization
177 present a different picture, one which corresponds more closely to
the picture presented by Slotkin. It appears to me that the members
of the national organization are so concerned with gaining an equal
footing in the White world that the Christianisms seem to be taken
more at face value. The statements of the representative of the
Southwest to the national conference is indicative of a desire to
appear more and more like Whites and to adopt more White tactics.
The Eastern tribes, according to this informant, were more "reverent."
They had much experience in belonging to White clubs (Lions, Kiwanis,
etc.) and had learned by these associations to make their Peyote
religion appear more like the White churches and clubs. But more
than appearances is implied in the word "reverent." This implies an
acceptance, I think, of the strictness of Christian doctrine in regard
to personal action. I would interpret it to mean that this informant
would like to see more stringent sanctions brought to bear on individual actions and attitudes, a move towards making the "church" larger
than, and independent of the individuals. My suspicion is that in so
far as Peyote will persist to any degree among the Comanches it will
tend to become more like the national organization. This unless new
factors enter the scene.

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C At this point some comparisons with the Christian communities
K may be made. On the surface the Christians represent a move toward
795 the White world while the Peyotists represent the last stronghold of
177 conservatism. While it is true that some Christian families have consciously tried to assimilate and have used their Christianity as one of the avenues of effort the majority of the Christians in the rural areas do not consider their Christianity in the same light. They do look upon Peyote as backward, some families have been able to accept the Christian view concerning sin, etc. In general, however, Christianity is just another church. There is no lack of indentification with Indian culture although there is not the same conscious effort to preserve tradition except among the Kiowas who have been reviving societies in a modified form. One of the big gripes the Peyotists have against the Christian Indians is that they do not live up to Christianity. That is, they claim to have accepted the "difficult" demands of the church but then act just like the Peyotists they look down on. This is, in a way, an admission that the Christians are still Indians in essence. It is this which leads one to look beneath the surface dichotomy between the two religions which is most often vocalized as the difference between assimilationists and conservatives.

C If anything impresses me in regard to the attitudes of the
K Indians I have met, it is the sustained reaction to the traumatic defeat
829 at the hands of the Whites. The Indian is in a subordinate position.
177 He is not allowed to forget it, nor does he wish to when he has a chance. The Indians believe themselves to be in a weaker position than are the Negroes. And this, in Oklahoma, is not an
C objective /43/ assessment of the facts. In this situation where
K aggression is allowed no direct outlet both Christianity and Peyote
795 play a similar role. And if the White-Indian tensions are central to
177 the individual's life in any way (I believe they may be the prime factor in many areas) then this similarity of roles may be more important than the differences between the two faiths.

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C Indians, both Christians and Peyotists believe themselves
K superior to the Whites. Their meek and agreeable role is a mask which
829 is dropped the moment the Whites are out of sight. They take satisfac-
177 tion in the success of their deception, in the gullibility of the
Whites. They manipulate the Whites and further prove their superior-
ity. But this is probably not enough to supply adequate satisfaction,
C there is a future date at which the tables will be turned. It is in
K this realm that both Christianity and Peyote perform an almost identi-
795 cal function.
771

C Because aggression is denied to both Christians and Peyotists
K alike, the non-aggression principles of the two faiths may be followed
[829] and the Indians feel that they are true to their faith while the White
man is not. This will of course alleviate any guilt feelings due to
C suppressed aggression. But if the White man sins and the Indian does
K not then there is justice for the Christian in heaven and for both
779 faiths, justice in the judgement day. The Peyotists' judgement day
795 may be one trait taken bodily from Christian doctrine in tact. The
descriptions I have had given me by Peyotists bode no good for Whites,
C and toned down as they are for my ears, the tone of voice is just a
K little unnerving. Moreover, Peyotists take every opportunity to men-
[129] tion this coming of the end to me in ominous tones and say that they
C are sure I get the point. Peyote symbolism has clothed the judgement
K day in Peyote clothes. During a normal ceremony the eagle bone whistle
778 is blown within the tipi towards the east (passing out through the en-
795 trance). At the day of judgement the procedure will be reversed. The
538 whistle (like Gabriel's horn I am told) will blow outside the tipi
829 from the east toward the west. It will pass through the tipi passing
out the rear of the tipi. The description of the strength and tone of
that whistle is quite eerie. I have not been able to get many state-
ments on the subject from Christians but only hints here and there.

/page 43 continued/

C In short, both religions seem to function in a similar manner
K in alleviating the pressures of the persecuted group. As far as I am
795 able to determine the inroads made by the Whites and the constant pressures
771 upon the Indians color if they do not determine most areas of
[177] an individual's life. But it is just in this field that I am ill-equipped
[123] to operate due to my own color.

C Returning now to the theoretical considerations mentioned at
K the outset, I think it is safe to say that they have been helpful in
121 providing a means or point of view for examining the data. The result
C has been that the basic tensions of assimilationist versus traditionalist
K do not seem to be the major elements in the development of the
121 areas of life examined so far. In so far as this split was once
665 important it might be profitable to do some historical work concerning
177 the changes that have been consummated during the past fifty
years.

C /44/In satisfying Malinowskian criteria necessary for determining
K the changing functions of traits and trait complexes it is clear
121 that much more must be known about the White culture of the area. It is not clear that this is a feasible task. The major lines of White aggression via government agencies and policies are not inaccessible. But the everyday pressures are perhaps as important and these stem from a fundamentalist Christian community which is totally foreign to me.

At present the most valuable tack would seem to be a view which would examine present phenomena as reactions to White pressures but which are consistant with the older form of Comanche culture. Historical periods may then be examined separately. Just what sort of model will prove sufficient I cannot tell at this time.

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another bunch went back into Texas somewhere and they all went separate 173
there. And now these, I forgot what their name is . . . way up in southwest of California, I think. Well, they talk like us. I don't know their white man name but us Indians call them *ɜkai*. That has meaning of "red Comanches." That's what their name is. Then over there in Utah there's a bunch talk like us, and they talk easy, slow, say every word like us Comanches. They call us word means something like "they come from hot country." You know, some folks tell you that Comanches come from Mexico, but it ain't true. Comanches been here and there but they come from up north somewhere. My folks, as far as they can remember, come from Colorado near Denver somewhere, but it wasn't no Denver in them days. The army run my folks and their folks in Oklahoma, but we didn't belong here way back. We from Colorado. That's where my father's father was killed by them Utes. I still know that country from what the old people told me and what I ask them.

Migrations

In the late 1600s the Comanches began to migrate southward into contact 167
with the Spanish settlements of New Spain and east onto the Plains. The Coman- 177
ches most likely moved south to be nearer a source of horses, which they first
acquired raiding with the Utes in northern New Mexico. The first large group of [231]
Comanches appeared in the New Mexico area around 1705. In the succeeding ten 721
or fifteen years, with the Utes, they were constant sources of harassment to the Spanish settlements in the area. In approximately 1726, the Comanches, perhaps feeling their new power with the acquisition of the horse, turned on their former allies, the Utes. Many of the war stories told by Sanapia and some of my older Comanche informants tell of horse-raiding expeditions against the Utes.

In the early eighteenth century the Comanches began to expand to a greater 167
degree onto the Plains. The contraction of the pedestrian Dismal River culture in the central Plains around 1725 is attributed by some authors to the energized
predatory equestrian Comanche people. By the middle of the eighteenth century 721
the Comanches had established themselves as a real threat to the Spanish settle- 618
ments in New Mexico. At first, however, the Spanish policy toward the Comanches was relatively long-suffering because the existence of the mounted and war-like Comanches acted as a protective barrier on New Spain's eastern frontiers against
intrusion from that direction by large numbers of French and English. During [177]
this period, however, the Comanches made treaties with certain tribes to the north [411]
who were sympathetic to the French, and thus French traders began to supply the Comanches with firearms, a trade item which the Spanish had always feared to release to the Comanches. In the late eighteenth century the dangerous situation provoked by the Comanche's acquisition of guns stimulated the Spanish to send military forces against the Comanches, whose center at that time was in southeastern Colorado. In approximately 1790 the northern Comanche bands, perhaps responding to the military pressures imposed by the Spanish, made an alliance with the Kiowa, an alliance which was never broken.

In 1820 Major Long encountered a large camp of Comanches on the upper 177
great bend of the Arkansas River. Prior to this time the Comanches had little 101

177 contact with the Anglo-Americans. In the latter part of the eighteen century and
101 the early nineteenth century the Comanches had moved into an area which would roughly encompass southeastern Colorado, southwestern Kansas, central and western Oklahoma, and northern Texas. In fact, in 1834 General Leavenworth and Colonel Dodge met with a large encampment of northern Comanches about 10 miles north of Fort Sill, Oklahoma, on Chandler Creek within a mile of where Sanapia's house now stands.

Relationship to Shoshone

121 To gain a full appreciation of the roots of historical and contemporary
[101] Comanche society, two important phenomena must be considered—the Sho-
shonean basis of Comanche culture and the effects of the acquisition of the horse
[178] and the subsequent "plainsification" of this Shoshonean base culture. Since the similarities which the Comanches share with other Plains tribes are obvious, these will not be exhaustively discussed. Emphasis will be placed on those cultural traits which differentiate the Comanches from other Indian groups of the Plains and which illustrate Shoshonean influences in Comanche culture.

133 The physiography of the generic eastern Shoshonean habitat can be de-
137 scribed as a Basin-Range type, an area of high, arid semidesert with sagebrush and juniper as the predominant floral cover (Kroeber 1939:798). This environ-
174 ment, in its relative meagerness, presented difficulties for peoples who attempted to inhabit it. Subsistence was gained mainly from gathering; seed, bulb, and root collecting; and small-game hunting in the southeastern Basin-Range area. The land could not support a large group of people in one place for any length of time. Therefore, the pattern of small nomadic bands was necessitated. There was no clan organization. Residence after marriage depended on which family had the greatest food surplus at the time. There was no bride price, and marriages were generally unstable, the partners separating at will. Fraternal wife lending occurred, as well as the customary marriage of a deceased wife's sister to the widower. No strict rules of avoidance existed.

Political organization was as rudimentary as social organization. There were no chiefs or councils. Since the old men of the various local groups had from long experience gained a great knowledge of the area, there developed a passive dominance of the aged. The Medicine man or shaman was probably the most influential individual in this culture. The tenuous nature of subsistence provided for elaboration of hunting magic and a dependence on individual and group rapport with the supernatural.

Religious Patterns

Religious patterns included a belief in a vaguely defined Great Spirit who was the fountainhead of all power but who did not interfere in human affairs. This power could be obtained by men through dreams in which a super-

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Their greatest source of irritation during this span of time was the growing white 177 settlements of Texas. It was during this period of increased contact with Texas [184] that the divisions of the Comanche bands into northern, middle, western, and southern began to acquire a new meaning—one couched in terms of degree of acculturation and the hostilities engendered between the tradition-oriented and conservative Comanche bands and the well-acculturated Comanche bands.

As early as 1779 Governor Don Juan Bautista de Anza of New Spain 619 had recognized the highly independent band organization of Comanche society. 621 The term "tribe" had no political significance for the Comanches. Comanche society consisted of a number of independent and sometimes hostile bands which were linked by only the awareness that they were all *nɜmɜnə*, or "The People." Each band exploited a vaguely defined range within the Comanche country and, with the notable exception of the "Quick Stinger" band, never made war on other bands. There were no pervasive political institutions among the Comanche to mold the bands into a political unit. No tribal council, no joint economic activity, and no ceremonial occasion existed that could unite all the bands for even a brief period of time. The various bands even dealt separately with the United States government. The first and last time that a majority of the bands came together was for the occassion of the first Comanche Sun Dance in 1874, held in the dying moments of the old, free nomadic Comanche culture. This first attempt to organize as a tribe, unfortunately for the Comanches, was attempted too late, for by this time the end of the nomadic Comanche life way was but a year in the future.

The Spanish government of New Spain considered the Comanches as being organized into three major bands. The Anglo-Americans also designated three divisions—northern, middle, and southern. Wallace and Hoebel (1925:25) record that Robert S. Neighbors, in 1860, cited the existence of eight Comanche bands; James Mooney later listed thirteen; Robert Lowie in 1912 mentioned only four. The Santa Fe Laboratory group in 1933 was able to gain information concerning thirteen bands. I was able to find evidence of five Comanche bands—*yapai* ("Root Eaters"), *kwabada* ("Antelopes"), *bɔnitai*β ("Corn White Men"); or *pɛnatɜkə* ("Eating Honey All the Time"), *bonono* ("Hill People"), and *noyaka* or *nokoni* ("Always Moving Around").

Comanche Bands

There is no information on the origins of the various bands or their pre- [174] contact composition and geographical placement. In the following discussion of the major Comanche bands the reconstructed situation is that of the Comanche in their historic territory from approximately the late eighteenth century until the disintegration of the old nomadic Comanche culture in the latter part of the nineteenth century.

The largest Comanche band was the *pɛnatɜkə*, or "Honey Eaters," the 619 southernmost Comanche band. At various times they were known as the "Hos- 621 pitables," "No Meat," "Steep Climbers," "Wasps" or "Quick Stingers," and "Timber 101 People." This band was the vanguard of the Comanches' southward migration.

101 619 621 [177] The final territory they held was northcentral Texas. Early references by Anglo-Americans concerning the Comanches pertain mainly to these people. Wallace and Hoebel (1952:25) mention that they lived near the white settlements and associated more with the Caddos, Wichitas, and whites in historic times than with their western and northern kinsmen. Both their tradition and that of the northern Comanche bands tell how the two lost contact for a long period of time. It was only with the northern Comanches' raids into Mexico that the two groups finally reestablished ties.

619 621 657 177 101 The *pɛnatɜkə* were put on reservations in Texas in 1854, while the majority of Comanches continued to raid freely throughout Texas. The reservation experiment failed, largely because of pressure from the white citizenry, and was ended in 1858. By this time the power of the Honey Eaters was minimal and, because of their proximity to the Texas settlements, they were made to suffer for many of the crimes perpetrated by the "wild" western and northern Comanches.

619 621 101 The *nɔkoni*, "Those Who Move Often," was the major band representing the middle Comanches. The center of their range was the Pease River region of Texas. The *tanima*, "Liver Eaters," and *kutsuɛka*, "Buffalo Eaters," composed the remaining middle Comanche bands, sharing the range of the *nɔkoni*.

The *kwahada*, "Antelope" band, is the representative of the western Comanches. They probably drifted south at approximately the same time as the *yapai* band and later moved onto the staked Plains. In late historic times the *kwahada* band was the most warlike of the Comanches and the last band to surrender to the United States Army.

The *yapai*, or *Yamparika*, "Yap Eaters," occupied the northernmost reaches of the Comanche country. The *yapai* was probably the last band to break from the Shoshonean traditions. Wallace and Hoebel (1952:27) write that the Fort Hall Shoshone of Idaho call all Comanches *Yamparika*. During the late nineteenth century they were situated from the south side of the Arkansas River to the Canadian River.

Acculturation and Schism

657 621 619 The reservation and postreservation period wrought great changes in the function and composition of the Comanche bands. Matters of protection, subsistence, and territory were taken from the control of the Comanches and brought under the power of various agencies of, or appointed by, the federal government. It was only with the land allotments of the Jerome Act in 1901 and 1905 that the members of the various bands were able to assert their band identity once again in real estate. Today, in Comanche, Cotton, and Caddo counties, the ancient geo-
101 graphic distribution of the four major bands is stated in miniature. The *yapai*
619 are still the northernmost band, centered in the area delimited by the Oklahoma
621 communities of Medicine Park, Meers, Elgin, Fletcher, Cyril, Apache, and Bonne. The *nɔkoni* are located south of the *yapai* and north of Lawton, Oklahoma. The greatest density of *kwahada* population is in western Comanche County in the

towns of Cache, Snyder, and Indiahoma. The *pɛnatɜkɔ* continue to be the southern- 101
most of the Comanche bands, centered in the vicinity of Walters, Oklahoma. 619

Perhaps the most ubiquitous and pervasive problems which have confronted 621
the Comanche in the twentieth century are those directly associated with the 177
process of acculturation with the dominant white culture. The traditional–progres- 619
sive and conservative–liberal schism which has appeared as a disruptive force in 621
contemporary Comanche society very closely follows band boundaries. As might 184
be expected, the southern band, the *pɛnatɜkɔ*, a people with a relatively long history of white contact experience, have been more successful in their transition into the twentieth century than have the *yapai* Comanches, the band with the least amount of contact experience. At present the *pɛnatɜkɔ* are the progressive and liberal Comanches, while the *yapai* stand as the rallying point for all traditionally oriented and conservative Comanches. The *yapai* are joined in the traditionalist camp by the *kwahada* and the *nɔkoni*. This major division is thought of by the Comanches as a division between the northern "tribes" and the southern "tribes."

Most contemporary northern Comanches do not use the term *pɛnatɜkɔ* for 101
the southern people; rather they call them *hɔnitaiβo*, which means "eat corn 619
like a white man," or, more literally, "corn white men." They are often referred 621
to in English as "Freckles," alluding to the great degree of mixed-blood Comanches 184
who, the northerners believe, fill the southerner's ranks. The southern Comanches are less colorful than the northerners in their invectives, simply stating that the northerners are, for the most part, uneducated, drunken, shiftless, and generally responsible for the poor reputation which the Comanches possess in many of the white communities in southern Oklahoma.

Historical indications of the basis for the present-day dichotomy of Comanche society are suggested by Richardson in *The Comanche Barrier to South Plains Settlement* (1933). Perhaps the most significant single factor responsible for the subsequent divisiveness of the northern and southern Comanche bands is the geographic distance which separated them well into historic times. At the peak of Comanche territorial expansion, as many as 600 miles could have separated the northern bands, ranging in southern Colorado and southwestern Kansas, from southern bands, inhabiting northcentral Texas.

The Kiowa and northern Comanches made a treaty in 1790 which did 619
not include the southern Comanche bands. This treaty was never broken. 621
During the Texas Revolution the southern bands refrained from taking advantage 184
of the chaos in Texas to raid and plunder, while the northern Comanches and 648
their Kiowa allies joined to make one of the most destructive Indian raids in 721
Texas history. After the Mexican defeat in 1837 the Cherokee chief, Bowl, was
commissioned to visit the various Comanche bands to seek peace. The southerners
were cooperative and friendly; the northerners, however, were insulting and hostile.
In the 1850s when the southern bands were put on reservations in Texas, the 619
northern bands continued their raiding activities with the Kiowas. During this 621
time agent officials complained of the demoralizing effects which the northern 184
Comanches had on the southern reservation wards. Further, members of the 721
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115 late nineteenth century and another maternal uncle who was a twentieth-century
159 Arapaho chief. Each of these facts is individually significant for an understanding
of some of the major early influences which affected Sanapia's life.

115 The recurring descriptive phrase used by my older Comanche informants
159 when speaking of Sanapia's father was, "He was a strong Christian man." His
797 conversion to Christianity occurred in his early middle years, shortly before
Sanapia's birth; and, in fact, it was the Presbyterian minister responsible for the
father's conversion who was given the honor of naming the new born Sanapia.
Her father devoted most of his life to Christian activities among the Comanches,
115 much to the later embarrassment of Sanapia. He was also energetic in attempting
159 to learn and to incorporate into his family's routine the life style of white society.
797 Sanapia's reminiscences of her father depend for their tone and complexion on her
177 vacillating moods. At one time she may speak of him as "a good Christian man
593 and a good father," and at another time she might speak of a father who, through
his white-Christian–modeled behavior, brought ridicule upon his wife and family
from the Comanche community in which they lived.

> You know, he was the first Christian man among us Comanche peoples. He used to go up to Richard Spur and talk to them people up there. He talk about the bible and things like that. And you know, some of those Indians believed him, what he tells them, but some of them make fun of him and tell him that he don't know nothing about the bible, or he don't know nothing about white

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 18]

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Sanapia and her parents, 1898.

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115 man's ways. They say, "We don't want to hear stories about white people that
159 been dead for years . . . dead for a long time." That's what they tell him. When
797 he prayed, some of those people, they tell him, "Who you praying to?" And he
177 said, "Well, I pray to God because the white man told me to." And they just
593 laugh at him. He catch them when they out of peyote meeting on Sunday mornings.
Maybe he shouldn't have done that. You wouldn't catch my mother going
over there with him. No!

When Sanapia's father embraced Christianity, he turned totally from all
115 things Comanche; at least, this is the opinion of those who knew him. A photograph
159 of his wife and him taken in the early twentieth century shows a massive
797 man with short hair, stiffly posing, dressed in a dark suit, dark shoes, white shirt,
177 starched collar, and tie. Beside him stands his wife, dressed in the cloth "squaw
291 dress," apron, sash, and buckskin moccasins, a costume commonly worn by women
in the immedite postreservation period, but displaying in her attire style not one
040 trace of the effects of the surrounding white society. This photograph dramatically

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Sanapia's maternal uncle.

This photograph dramatically
conveys the nature of a very far-reaching influence on Sanapia's life: a liberal 115
father who attempted to incorporate into his person visible symbols of the white- 159
Christian culture in which he found himself enveloped and an extremely con- 797
servative and traditionally oriented mother who had nothing but disdain for 177
the symbols and values of white society. 593

Sanapia's mother seems to have been almost fanatical in her conservatism. 115
For example, though she knew and understood English, she would never speak it 159
in a white man's presence, feeling that somehow this would belittle her in the 177
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[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 21] 141

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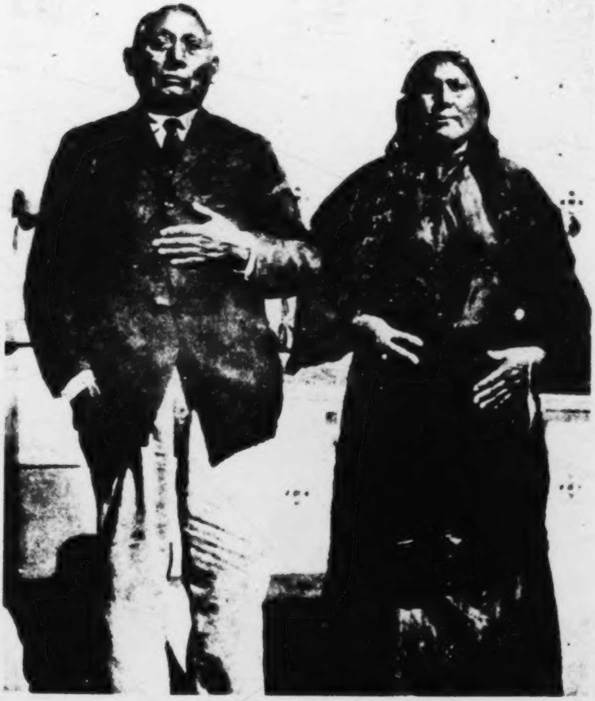

Sanapia's mother and father.

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white man's eyes. Sanapia remembers this point well, for it was she, as her 115
mother's favorite daughter, who was called upon to take her mother to the nearby 159
towns and act as interpreter. 177
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> Lots of times I would be playing or something and I have to go with her . . .
> speak for her. I tell her, "You can talk English good, why do I have to talk for
> you?" She just tell me to come on. She said that when the white mans learn
> Comanche talk, she would learn white man language. She was real stubborn, I
> guess you would say, about things like that. You know, one time my father 115
> put these little napkin rings like they used at school on our table and he told
> us kids to use them. Well, my mother got them and put bead work on them 159
> with each our name on each one. My father got mad at that, but my mother 177
> told him that she wasn't no white man, she was Indian. They would talk like 593
> that a lot but they stay together till they both dead. They have some run-ins
> though. Like once I come back from school with these button-top shoes. My
> mother made me take them off because she said they would cripple my feet.
> My grandmother told me that too. But my father liked them and made me wear
> them. I thought they looked good, you know, but they hurt if you wear them
> long enough. I go barefoot a lot when I was a real young woman.

According to Sanapia's memory, her father never took issue with the mother's doctoring activities or her involvement with the peyotists. From Sanapia's stories of childhood it seems that it was the mother who would react violently against the father's attempt to introduce elements of white culture into the home. The father apparently never directly attacked the conservative Comanche ways but preferred to ignore them, withdraw from them, or illustrate how the white man's "road" was superior.

Sanapia's memories of her maternal grandmother are the fondest and most 115
elaborated. It was this grandmother who took the greatest hand in rearing the 159
children, though the father and mother acted as final authorities. It was also this 603
grandmother who continually emphasized to Sanapia the importance of remem- 177
bering the old ways and old stories, even suggesting that she keep a diary or
journal of her life.

> My grandmother was just a little bitty woman. She stayed in her tepee south [342]
> of the house because she didn't like houses. She said that they good for keeping
> dogs and horses and that's all. A lot of old peoples would used to joke like that.
> She sure was good to me . . . take care of me all the time when I was just a 115
> small girl. She wrap me in her blanket when I was little, even when I get to 159
> be five years old . . . pretty big girl by then . . . and she carry me around. She 603
> said, "I want you to save your feet, don't let your legs get tired because you got 855
> a long time to live." She carry me around down on the creek, doing nothing,
> until I get tired and then she take me back to her tent. She rocks me to sleep [252]
> and if I wake up way in the night, she would give me a meat ball . . . pound
> meat with sugar on it. Then she poke up the fire and tell me old stories. She [415]
> told me how to make real old time Indian bags out of this softest buckskin so
> I could carry around my own little meat balls in there. Bag looks like a flat bag
> sort of is the kind of one I had. She tell me always to remember what she tells
> me and I did. She tell me that I should write it down, but at that time I didn't
> even know what writing is, but my grandma did. She tell me that a lot of white
> people would come into our country. That was even before I seen a lot of white

She speaks similarly of peyote:

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> That peyote is a real good medicine. They call it . . . some of the Indians 771
> call it a sacrament like white peoples who are Christians. God gave that peyote 755
> to the Indians to help them when they got sickness. I learned how to use that
> peyote a lot of ways. You ain't supposed to take it and think you go crazy. No!
> It's a medicine and that's the way I use it. Peyote gives me power to make
> people well.

When speaking of her supernatural patron, the eagle, she says: 115

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> The eagle got more power then anything living, I guess. Its got Medicine to 771
> help people get well . . . to cure them. I got power like that eagle because the 755
> eagle help me when I call on it when I doctor. My mother told me that I be 825
> just like that eagle when I doctor. I can feel the eagle working in me when I
> doctor and try hard to get somebody well. Feels like that eagle tell me in my
> mind to go ahead and fix that person up . . . get him well.

However, though she utilizes elements of peyotism and Christianity, she 115
has little sympathy for the organized forms of these religions. This is especially 159
true with regard to Christianity. 771

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> The way I know is, when I went to Christian church up there, many, many years back I found out some things. Like when you get hard up, or when you get sick in the family, they ain't going to help you. They don't come. They don't say, "Let's have a prayer meeting for you. Let's do that." They don't say that to you. They really tight. They don't spare nothing with you. I still pray like that, but I'm not going to their church for nothing.

She speaks of the Native American Church:

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> They say I supposed to sign my name to belong to that Native Church. I told 771
> them that I wasn't going to do that. I been using that medicine for long as I 795
> know it, and my mother before me, and her father before her and way, way 755
> back like that. I don't have to belong to nothing to use that medicine. We hold
> meetings here on our place but I ain't going nowhere else around here to peyote
> meeting. That medicine belong to anybody that needs it and you don't have to
> belong to the church that they set up if you want to use it.

White Contact

Sanapia's first extensive contact with white society came when she began 115
her schooling at the age of seven at Cache Creek Mission School in southern 159
Oklahoma. She remembers the seven years she spent at Cache Creek as generally 177
pleasant. 777

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> I really did enjoy that school. I like it. The teachers . . . every one of them and our superintendent were all missionaries. They were really nice people. They teach us the bible. All the girls and boys go up there and they teach us all these bible stories and they question us out of the bible to see if we really read it.

> 115 They teach us the men. We all sitting around there. When she tell us how
> 159 Jesus was born, we just laugh and act silly and our matron would say, "Don't
> 177 laugh." Then we ask her, "Did you see the baby?" You know, things like that
> 797 . . . the older girls and us ask her questions like that. We just laugh about it.
> 872 All the time we thought it was silly for them not to go and see the baby when
> [212] it was born. Yeah, we learn how to write and learn how to spell, and arithmetic
> and whatever they learn us. We caught onto it. Then the government wrote a letter to our superintendent and said to send a bunch of them to Haskell in Kansas. And they sent a bunch of them over there and they went to school up there for about three years and they come back and they were grown and they all got married, but I didn't go. My mother wouldn't sign the papers and my dad wouldn't let me go. "No, we don't want her to go up there. She might run off or she'll freeze to death or somebody might kill her on the road." So a bunch of us girls, we didn't go. And a bunch of them went. My brothers went. They were younger than I and they went. And my mother said, "No, she's not going, but you boys could go. Boys are tougher than the girls." That what she told my brothers and so they went. I didn't care nothing about it either way.

During the summer vacations she would return to her home, which at that time was situated along Chandler Creek in Comanche County, Oklahoma.

> I never did go places because we didn't have no places to go in them days . . .
> no cars or nothing. When we come out of school we just stay home all summer.
> 115 Help my father with the work and everything he's got. He had lots of crops. My
> 159 brothers cultivate that corn. I have to ride the horse for them and keep it on
> 241 the row because the corn was so high that the horse would keep eating back
> and forth and my father would make me ride that horse to keep him on that line so he won't be eating the tops of the corn. They take turns, three of my brothers, while I be riding that horse all day, all day. In the morning we go plow till noon and then we go to dinner and then we go back and plow again till we get through with it. My father used to teach us to work, you know.

115 It was during summer vacation prior to her last year at school that Sanapia's
159 mother offered to train her to become a doctor. Sanapia was reticent at first, but
593 combined pressure from her mother and maternal grandmother persuaded her to
756 at least consent to the first phases of this training program, that of learning to
868 identify in their natural habitat the various floral medicines which her mother
824 used in doctoring.

The Middle Years

115 Sanapia left school when she was fourteen years old, and her activities
159 for the next three years were in the main involved with the training program her
756 mother and uncle had established to teach Sanapia all she would need to know to
868 become an eagle doctor. By her seventeenth year Sanapia had successfully
[871] completed her training and possessed all the skills, knowledge, and supernatural powers
[582] which she would employ in doctoring after she passed menopause. During the
period of training her mother had dissuaded her from marriage so that she would

115 159 756 [824] [278] year of school. This first phase consisted of lessons in identifying certain medicine plants in the field and in the avenues of acquisition of medicines which were not native to southern Oklahoma. Sanapia was also taught the rituals involved in the collection of certain plants and the various manners of rendering raw plant parts into manipulatable medicine. Concomitantly, she was instructed in the skills of administering medicines.

The first phase initiated Sanapia's training period and continued throughout the next three years. Sanapia was next instructed in the diagnosing of all manner of human afflictions and their proper treatment. During this time she served as an aid to her mother and maternal uncle in their doctoring activities and thus was able to observe the actual treatment of patients as well as the required deportment of a doctor and his patient. However, knowledge of ethics and required role behavior of a doctor was not left to Sanapia's youthful observations alone. She remembers "long, long talks" when her mother and uncle would impress on her the proper behavior of a doctor.

115 159 756 177 These rules of conduct, in the way in which they deemphasize the significance of the individual and emphasize the supernatural powers operating through him, seem to have a distinctly Judao-Christian cast to them and appear to be somewhat counter to the more individual-oriented supernaturalistic notions recorded for the Comanches of an earlier time. Perhaps Sanapia, in her attempt to construct a unified religious structure from the three disparate supernaturalistic systems into which she was born, has slightly modified the tenor of the eagle doctor ethics and their premises, as taught by her mother and maternal uncle, to make them more compatible with other elements in her own personal syncretic supernaturalistic complex. It is highly doubtful that her mother, with her aversion to Christianity, would have so sensitively and systematically performed this feat.

Deportment of a Doctor

115 159 756 [761] Most importantly, the doctor must lead a good and honorable life. The Medicine demands this, and it would do harm to the individual possessing it if he acted in a manner unbecoming a *puhakut*. Sanapia suggests that a *puhakut* and his Medicine are one. If a possessor of power, through his untoward behavior, brings disgrace on himself, he also brings disgrace on his Medicine, and as punishment his power could cause his death.

The doctor must also be always accessible. He cannot refuse anyone his services. Sanapia conceptualizes herself, in the role of eagle doctor, as the medium through which the Medicine operates. She "possesses" Medicine only in this sense, and, once she has committed herself to the life of a *puhakut*, it is no longer her decision as to who may or may not benefit from a supernatural power acting through her which can alleviate human suffering.

An eagle doctor must never extol his own abilities and should also dissuade others from doing so. Once again, Sanapia interprets this as a further means by which the doctor recognizes that it is not the doctor but the Medicine with which he has been gifted, which is responsible for the good works which are accomplished by him.

and in her most difficult doctoring situations and in all her most criticial moments, it is to the spirits of her teachers that she turns for aid.

115 159 756 787 755

The Supernatural Universe

Sanapia's description of the supernatural universe is full of contradictory elements. This is not as great an obstacle to action as it may seem since she addresses each element individually as the situation demands. She has no need to attempt to grasp the entirety of this universe at once. Sanapia is able to select from her potpourri of supernaturalistic notions the ones which best suit a particular occasion.

115 159 756 775

She believes that living human beings share the earth with the ghosts, or malevolent spirits of deceased humans who, alive, led evil lives. The ghosts can enter into the world of men, but men cannot enter the world of ghosts except through death. Also, somewhere, neither in the plane of living man nor in the plane of ghost existence, is the realm of pure, unembodied supernatural power. Such entities as the sun, the earth, and the eagle are able to tap this power and thus possess it to a greater extent than can mortal men. Power can be acquired by men only through secondhand channels and never from its source. A mortal would be killed if exposed to pure power. The power, from its original source, is inexhaustible.

115 159 756 778

In yet another plane of existence are found the spirits of good men such as the disciples of Jesus and the spirits of Sanapia's mother and uncle. This realm is not quite like heaven, which is the abode of God and Jesus and the eternal home of those ordinary souls who have nothing to offer the world of the living, as do the spirits of Medicine men or the disciples of Jesus. Hell is somewhere deep in the earth. Sanapia believes that it is the special eternal home of evil white men. Her notions of the nature of hell follow the standard Christian concept.

115 159 756 775 [776] [772] [177]

Peyote is similar to the sun or the eagle in its ability to embody an extraordinary degree of supernatural power. However, unlike the sun or the eagle, peyote comes from the Christian God as a sign of his love for all Indian people. According to Sanapia, the sun has existed longer then the Christian God, and is therefore entirely self-sufficient.

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Thus Sanapia can become more or less Christian, peyotist, or Plains shaman as varying situations present themselves. By not assigning a negative value to contradictory elements in her supernaturalistic universe and by oversimplifying the similarities, Sanapia possesses a flexibility which confounds any attempt to present a very cogent description of her "religion." If a key pervasive theme had to be chosen, it probably would be concerned with the idea of supernatural power and the desirability of its acquisition and control.

115 159 756 771 [778]

A Successor

At the present time Sanapia is beginning to consider the problem of a successor, for she feels that her doctoring career is rapidly approaching its final

115 159 756 593

listing the crow's aid against the owls or ghosts. Sanapia, however, does not share 778
her Kiowa and Apache neighbor's aversion to owls. 237
775

> You know, these Apaches sure are crazy. They get scared of them owls . . . 171
> they might hear them holler or something. It ain't nothing but a funny bird. [825]
> A bird can't hurt nobody and they think it's a ghost.

Glass Slivers

Slivers of glass, usually obtained from broken beer bottles, are used by 756
Sanapia whenever a certain treatment calls for the making of incisions in the 755
flesh. This operation is almost always immediately succeeded by the use of the 757
sucking horn or by suction applied by mouth.

Several examples will adequately explain the function of these slivers of brown glass. For both a severe headache and extreme vertigo the same procedure is followed. Minute cuts are made at either temple, in the middle of the forehead, and immediately below the hairline at the nape of the neck. These incisions are approximately one-sixteenth of an inch in length and penetrate only deep enough to produce a blood flow. The sucking horn is applied after all the cuts have been made, and sucking is continued from point to point around the head until both Sanapia and the patient are satisfied with the results.

Sanapia believes that "bad blood," or "foamy stuff," causing pressure in [753]
the head area is the cause of both conditions. To relieve the symptoms, the blood,
or foamy stuff, must be removed. The same notion of pain caused by the pressure of expanding foamy stuff stimulates the use of the cutting operation in the treatment of swollen joints, which Sanapia calls "rheumatism" in the absence of evidence indicating breaks or sprains.

Sanapia specifies the use of only brown glass in an attempt to imitate her mother. The mother utilized what, from Sanapia's description, appear to have been brown flintlike slivers as cutting tools in doctoring. Sanapia does not know how to obtain "cutting rocks" so she employs brown glass as a close approximation.

Sucking Horn

Sanapia's sucking horn is a 4-inch section of the horn casing of a variety [237]
of domestic cattle found in her vicinity. The 4-inch section is cut from the point
or extremity of the horn. This piece of horn is usually drilled and scoured to develop a clear opening from the tip of the segment of horn, which will be used as the mouthpiece, to the termination of the horn or area of widest diameter, which will be the point of application when the horn is employed in doctoring.

This item is used when the treatment calls for Sanapia to attempt to suck sickness from the body of her patient. She recalls that when she was young, the sucking horn was used very little by the Comanche doctors which she had the opportunity to observe. If the treatment called for suction, the doctor employed
his mouth. Sanapia believes that it was with the advent of the white man and his [177]
teaching that many diseases are spread and caught via the mouth that Comanche
doctors began to depend more on the sucking horn in an effort to keep their mouth from contact with the patient.

Charcoal from a Peyote Drum

756 Before the drumhead is attached to the drum used in the ceremonies of the
755 Native American Church, the drum body is filled approximately one-third full with
778 water. Several small pieces of charcoal from any source immediately available are
534 placed in the water, and the head is then attached. The charcoal and water play
important parts in the morning rituals held at the close of Comanche peyote meetings. Both the water and the charcoal are considered blessed by their presence in the meeting and are thought to possess certain sacred qualities. Because of the power which Sanapia feels pervades the charcoal from the peyote drum, she considers this charcoal desirable as a medicine.

The charcoal from the drum is given to Sanapia after peyote meetings which have been held on her property. She uses these fragments in several ways. To contain the movement or spread of any kind of pain or to prohibit the spread of swelling caused by such conditions as snakebite or sprains, she encloses the afflicted area in a circle drawn on the patient's skin with this charcoal. Also, in doctoring a particularly difficult case, she sometimes rubs this charcoal on her palms to supplement her power.

White Otter Fur

756 Sanapia learned the use of a type of fur, which she states comes from a
755 white otter, as a medicine from a Shoshone woman during one of her visits to
237 the Wind River Shoshone communities around Fort Washakie, Wyoming. This
854 is specificically used to treat illnesses in infants, which are felt to be localized in
[177] the infant's head. Sanapia cuts a small square from this pelt and places it on live
coals. As the smoke rises from this smoldering fur, she holds the infant over the coals and moves him through the rising smoke four times. This medicine smoke is believed to enter the infant's head, where it's curative qualities work their effects. An Arapaho-Comanche uncle of Sanapia states that weasel tails are also used in this manner by the Comanches.

Porcupine Quills

Porcupine quills are used in the treatment of children in much the same manner as white fur. Four of the quills are deposited on coals. The infant is then passed through the rising smoke four times. Sanapia states:

> Sometimes they say kids get lonesome . . . when they sick, they just lonesome. Those stickers are good for that. They have medicine to help little children when I use them.

Bone Medicine

756 Sanapia calls this medicine *piamupits*, which she translates as "big old
755 giant." She also refers to it as *tsunhip*, a Comanche word for "bone." Wallace
237 and Hoebel (1952:171) write concerning this medicine:

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Sanapia refers to all other varieties of *Juniperus* as *taiβowa:pi*, or "white 278
man cedar." She uses the dried and pulverized root to make a decoction which 824
is internally administered to treat menstrual complaints. However, to Sanapia, 757
the dried and rubbed leaves of the cedar are the most important parts of the plant. 755
She sprinkles them on live coals, which are always formed from pecan twigs, to
produce a thick aromatic smoke which is inhaled by patients suffering from
ghost sickness, vertigo, or severe headache. The cedar smoke is also fanned over [783]
an individual by Sanapia in her blessing ceremony, a prominent aspect of all her
doctoring activities. She uses the cedar medicine smoke in any instance when she [775]
is called upon to dispel the influences of the ghosts. When she is commissioned
to ritually cleanse a house in which a death has recently occurred, she employs [783]
cedar smoke as a central core in this activity. When an individual is plagued
by thoughts of a deceased relative, Sanapia prescribes a fumigation of the home
with cedar smoke. She also strongly urges "cedaring" of the sleeping area before
retiring at night.

> Only use that red berry kind . . . get it on those slick hills west of here. They say when you use that cedar and they smell it, it blows all that bad stuff and pain away from you with that smoke. It keeps you well, and you won't ever be scared or nothing. Lot of different ways it help you like that. It's green, and its living all the time. In winter, summer, anytime. I don't care when. It's got Medicine for that. That's why I use it.

natsaˀksi

"sneezing medicine" *Helinium microcephalum* (sneezeweed) [137]

This plant is collected in the early fall. The flowers are detached and allowed to dry. When dried, the flowers are crushed and inhaled through the nose to produce the desired violent sneezing.

Sneezing medicine is administered to patients suffering from heart "flutter,"
low blood pressure, and head and nasal congestion. In Sanapia's opinion, the
sneezing stimulated by this medicine keeps the heart beating steadily and strongly,
thus maintaining the proper blood pressure. Also, she has the notion that in old [827]
age the heart becomes loosened from the cavity in which it is supposed to be
housed. The violent sneezing caused by this medicine is capable of shocking the
heart back into its proper position.

For those suffering from sinus congestion or head colds, Sanapia makes
a very effective "inhaler" out of a small bottle or can. The container is half filled
with the sneezing medicine. The patient is directed to shake the container, remove
the lid, and inhale the dust when he is suffering from head congestion. Sanapia 278
got the idea for her inhaler from commercials for cold remedies which she has 824
seen on television. Many of her ideas concerning the nature of head and chest 757
congestion and especially colds stem from notions absorbed from viewing tele- 755
vision commercials. She uses terms like "bronmicha" for "bronchial" and "simus" 177
for "sinus." The bronmicha is everything in the chest cavity except the lungs and

278 heart. Her idea of the location of the sinus cavities is essentially correct, though
824 she does not understand their function.
755
757

[777] *ekəpa*

[137] "red bean" *Sophora secundiflora* (mescal bean)

Sanapia grinds the mescal bean to the consistency of granulated sugar and then boils this coarse powder, which she first wraps in a makeshift cloth bag. When the decoction has reached the desired brownish coloration, it is strained through another piece of cloth, and the liquid is used as eardrops in the doctoring [841] of earaches and sores deep in the ear. Sanapia reports that her maternal uncle, a *puhakut*, would sew mescal beans into the cuffs of his trousers as protection [783] against possible contamination from menstrual blood.

puitsasene

[137] "eye scraper" *Elymus sp.* (rye grass)

Sanapia uses a single looped blade of this grass as a filelike tool in the removing of "cataracts" (trichoma). She describes this treatment as follows:

> You take that and double it up and turn the eye lid over and scrape it just as easy as you can. Then you just scrape it and scrape it until it bleeds . . . that thing on there bleeds. Well, you just keep on scraping until it finally comes off. Its the eye lid that causes cataracts because those things rub on the eye and make them sores. You got to scrape the eye. Put sugar water on it after you scrap it. It makes it feel better. Put sugar on after that thing stops bleeding

kunənatsu

[137] "fire medicine" *Zanthoxylum americanum* (prickly ash)

An infusion is made from the root of this plant and used for the treatment [752] of fever. The powdered root is also used in the treatment of toothache and burns. For toothaches, the powder is wrapped in a piece of cloth and this tiny bundle of medicine is placed next to the afflicted tooth. The medicine promotes a numbing in the mouth. In the treatment of burns, the powder is sprinkled dry on the burn. The term "fire medicine" stems from the burning sensation which this medicine causes when it contacts an open wound.

bakuma^{h}

[137] "in the water" *Iris sp.* (iris)

This plant is an unidentified variety of *Iris* which is not native to Sanapia's home area of Comanche County, Oklahoma. Sanapia utilizes a decoction of the root in the treatment of colds, upset stomache, and sore throat.

bakuma^{h} is the only medicine plant whose locale of growth is to some extent controlled by Sanapia. Her mother transplanted a number of these plants

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to a spring near Sanapia's home, and Sanapia makes an effort in her collection of this plant to never totally deplete the planting made by her mother. 278 824

This *Iris* is very similar to a variety which is found in eastern Oklahoma, significantly in an area of high Creek Indian population density. The Comanches and the Creeks have had close ties since the late nineteenth century (Wallace and Hoebel 1952:304), and Sanapia remembers traveling with her mother to eastern Oklahoma to visit Creek acquaintances. It is possible that Sanapia's mother could have learned of the medicinal qualities of this plant from the Creeks and brought back a collection to her home in Comanche County. The peculiar characteristics of the variety of *Iris* which Sanapia uses as medicine could have resulted from natural modifications stimulated through time by this change in environment. 755 757 [177]

pɔhɔβi

"white sage" *Artemisia ludoviciana* (lobed cudweed; gray sage) [137]

Sanapia employs the leaves of the gray sage in treatment of insect and spider bites. She chews the leaves and rubs the resulting moist pulp over the area of bites to relieve itching and swelling. [752]

ɛsipɔhɔβi

"sweet smelling sage" *Poliomentha incana* (sweet sage) [137]

This medicine plant comes from the area of the Mescalero Apache reservation in southeastern New Mexico. It is obtained for Sanapia by Fort Sill Apaches who have ties with the Mescalero.

In a doctoring situation when Sanapia must apply her mouth to the afflicted area of the patient's body in an attempt to suck the sickness from the patient, she chews a small piece of sweet sage and retains it in her mouth with the masticated medicine which is being specifically employed at the time. She states that the sweet sage acts to sweeten the usually bitter taste which results from this type of procedure. Sweet sage, in certain circumstances, is also added to ***bekwinatsu*** (to be discussed) to increase its potency. It is also added to various medicinal "teas" to make them more palatable to the patients.

During Comanche peyote meetings held on Sanapia's property, it was pointed out that the leafy cushion upon which the Chief Peyote rested was made of sweet sage. The sweet sage used in the peyote meeting is particularly valued by Sanapia as a medicine since it gains an added potency through its contact with the Chief Peyote.

bekwinatsu

"swelling medicine" *Matelea biflora* or *cynanchoides* (recumbent milkweed) [137]

This is one of Sanapia's major medicines and one of the three plants which she attributes with some degree of intrinsic supernatural potential. The other two medicines so considered are peyote and cedar. [778]

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patient is liberally dosed with this decoction until the symptoms subside. According to Sanapia, this root is unusually hard and therefore difficult to prepare for use as a medicine. However, she considers its extreme hardness as a positive quality since she associates hardness with compactness; therefore, she feels there is more medicine to a piece of *kusiwɔna* than there would be to practically any other medicine of equal size. 278 824 755 757

In the treatment of victims of witchcraft, a decoction of this root is utilized in several different ways. It can be made into a thick paste which is applied to an area of minute incisions which are made by Sanapia with slivers of glass before she begins to suck from the victim the magically toxic feather which has been introduced into the victim's body by the witch. The decoction can also be drunk by the patient, or it can be spewed on him by Sanapia in the course of treatment. [754]

do:ltsa

[No translation] [No specimen]

Sanapia obtains this medicine from Shoshone friends who live on the Fort Washakie reservation in central Wyoming. She utilizes the thick root of this plant, without modification, as a medicine to induce appetite and stimulate weight gain. A decoction made from this root is also used in the treatment of tuberculosis.

From Sanapia's description of *do:ltsa* and its properties, it could be suggested that this plant is *Perideridia gairdneri*, a wild caraway, called *yap* by the Comanches (Kearney 1951:615). Since Sanapia first acquired this medicine from an Arapaho uncle, who in turn suggested to her certain Shoshone as further sources for it, the name which she uses may well be Arapaho, Shoshone, or Sanapia's Comanche-ized corruption of an Arapaho or Shoshone word which is applied to this plant. [177]

bɔ:tatas

"looks like feathers" [No specimen]

This medicine, like sweet sage, is obtained for Sanapia by Fort Sill Apaches from the Mescalero country. The fruiting body is made into an infusion which is internally administered in the treatment of tuberculosis, various stomach complaints, and postnatal hemorrhaging. A thick paste is prepared from these fruiting bodies and applied as a liniment to the chest and throat of those suffering from pneumonia. No specimen would be obtained. However, from Sanapia's description, *Agoseris* might be suggested as a highly probably genus affiliation. [846]

oinatsu

"vomit medicine" [No specimen]

Sanapia reports but one use for this medicine plant. A decoction of the root is taken internally by patients afflicted with asthma or chest congestion. The described results are quite spectacular.

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> 278 You just give them a cup full of this, and another cup, and another, and
> 824 another . . . they just be filled up with that medicine. Sit around for ten or
> 755 fifteen minutes and that medicine just goes in their stomach and stirs up all that
> 757 fluid, whatever it is. When you got asthma, you got all those bronmicha [sic]
> tubes filled with slobber. That medicine takes it out. It comes out by itself, you don't have to vomit or nothing . . . through the mouth . . . comes right out. Some of it comes through the nose too. It runs out fast and they get well. You don't have to treat them another day longer.

itse

[No translation] [No specimen]

This medicine comes from the Mescalero Apache region and is obtained from the same sources which supply Sanapia with *ba:tasas* and *εsipɔhɔβi*. Dr. Harry W. Basehart of the University of New Mexico, who has done field research among the Mescalero, states the word *itse* is very similar to a Mescalero word which means "mystical influence." Mrs. Julia A. Jordon made a similar suggestion based
[177] on her experience with the Kiowa-Apache of Oklahoma. There is a strong possibility, then, that this word has been borrowed from Apache into Comanche.

The part of the plant which is utilized as medicine seems to be from
[752] Sanapia's description, a fruiting body. The plant is chiefly used as a remedy for
the bites of rattlesnakes and as a rattlesnake repellent. Sanapia describes how she
[825] uses it as a snake repellent for her son:

> When he goes to the field, like now, I have it boiled and I just rub it on his leg like that and then a cloth and pour it on and tie it around his boots . . . pour it all on there. Now if there's a rattlesnake running right there, he right up on him, but he won't jump him. He smells that and he just lay low. It'll kill that snake right now. I don't know how it does it. That medicine is really strong. A rattlesnake ain't going to smell it. They going to die if they smell it.

Sanapia recalls that she saw old people among the Comanche carry it in small cloth sacks tied to their belts or around their ankles in order to repel snakes.
[752] In the case of snake bite, the *itse* is chewed to a pulpy consistency and spread over the fang punctures, or it is retained in the mouth of the one who attempts to suck the poison from the wound. It is also used in this manner for the bites of poisonous spiders and scorpions.

In addition, Sanapia boils it into a thick broth for patients suffering from pneumonia. She notes that one of *itse*'s interesting characteristics is that it causes excessive salivation, and she therefore employs it when she must induce salivation in a patient.

osidobeda

[137] "peyote" *Lophophora williamsii* (peyote)

Peyote is Sanapia's most utilized general medicine, and in her opinion its curative properties can aid in healing any type of human physical affliction. She grinds and pounds the dried buttons to a powder which is then boiled or fabric would not be torn in the process. Because of the excessive rigors of the 775 environment, emphasis was necessarily placed on cooperation and supportiveness 154 among group members. Perhaps Basin culture ghost-fear beliefs acted as a means 571 by which aggressive antisocial tendencies, stimulated in this potentially tension-ridden society, could be projected, displaced, or transferred outside the group, much as the Plains cultures could direct intragroup motivated anxiety outside the group and toward their enemies through the war complex. The Basin people, lacking warfare patterns and not being able to afford excessive intragroup aggressions or asocial behavior, were able to project their fears, anxieties, tensions, and so forth toward ghosts. This specific type of displacement target is especially effective since it exists outside the realm of living men. Ghosts inhabit another world or plane of existence. Ghosts, besides being something to hate, fear, and aggress against, can also serve to explain misfortune, illness, and those occurrences in life which possess no natural explanations. However, that the ghosts functioned mainly in Basin culture as a means of displacing intrasocially motivated aggressive impulses is strongly suggested by the effectiveness of the Comanche war complex in decreasing ghost fear. Other factors which were doubtless of significance in leading to a decrease in ghost fear among the nomadic Comanches were the highly mobile nature of Comanche society, the more favorable environment of the Plains, the ability to increase geographic distance between group members and bands, and the subsequent ability of the Comanche individual to acquire a greater degree of independence from his primary group.

The Resurgence of the Ghost Complex

The life style of the nomadic culture, as opposed to the Basin prototype, 157 tended to place heavy emphasis on individual assertiveness, independence, aggres- 178 siveness, and physical prowess. These gross aspects of traditional Comanche person- 177 ality are relevant in understanding the severity of personal and social-cultural tensions which occurred when, in the reservation and postreservation period, the Comanche individual was to a great extent denied the prerogative of expressing himself in the traditional Comanche manner. Simply stated, the dynamic, mobile, and assertive Comanche personality was suddenly penned and confined because it came in conflict with the dominant white society's concept of proper and acceptable personal expression. Traditional Comanche modes of personal expression were not only deemed of negative value by the white society but they were subject to punishment as well. Therefore, certain Comanche personality traits, perfectly acceptable and functional in a culture where aggression, for example, could be released at a distance from the group and with the group approval, were suddenly loosed within the group because of its sudden forced confinement. Add to this the emotionally defined cleavage in Comanche society based on differential acceptance rates of acculturation stimuli between bands, and the presence of a high degree of psychological and sociocultural anxiety and tension in contemporary Comanche society is understandable. The notion of ghosts and their ability to interfere in [775] human affairs has found new vitality among twentieth-century Comanches as they

157 177 attempt to discover alternative methods of expressing and relieving the potentially dysfunctional emotional states which now plague them.

178 775 A further suggestion that the ghost complex among the contemporary Comanches function to relieve intrasocial tensions which have appeared as a result of the myriad influences of the acculturation situation is found in the most 177 178 775 571 recent ethnographic studies of the Comanche, which were obtained by the Santa Fe group in 1933. In all the materials published as a result of this group's work, the Comanches are not mentioned as possessing a great degree of ghost fear. This feature is very obviously present today, however. Since the Comanche "capture" occurred in the late nineteenth century, it can be assumed that a relatively large proportion of the Comanche population living in 1933, at the time of the Santa Fe group's investigation, would be composed of individuals who had actually taken part in the nomandic Comanche culture. The influence of this select group on the Comanche society of the 1930s was no doubt great. Their presence probably served to prolong the existence of traditional values and world view in vital form well into the postreservation-period Comanche generation; this would include the relative absence of ghost fear. At present, however, the majority of Comanches are two to four generations removed from the time of the nomadic Comanche culture, and it is among these people that the ghost complex has found new life and meaning. If the material collected by the 1933 group is indeed correct, it would appear that Comanche's attitudes toward ghosts have developed to their present form only since the 1930s. Sanapia has volunteered the information that the incidences of ghost sickness among the Comanche have been increasing over the last thirty years.

Some of the specific social forces which have been active in Comanche society within this time span and which have no doubt contributed to the resurgence in ghost belief have already been suggested. Conflict between the values of the white and Comanche society, increased intrasocial tensions in Comanche society, and lack of a satisfactory means to displace aggressive socially disruptive forces away from the society must be counted as three major forces [186] toward disequilibrium in Comanche society. To this list can be added racial discrimination and prejudice on the part of white society and to a certain extent on the part of Comanches. Associated with these aspects are the increasing pressures toward assimilation of the Comanche society being exercised by white society. However, while the Comanches are being persuaded that the rewards of the white life style are more desirable than those of Comanche culture, they are in most cases denied the avenues to achieve these rewards. Through all of this, the gap between core traditional Comanche values and the extinct culture upon which these values are based continue to expand, leaving many Comanches in a limbo of apathy, ambivalence, and neurotic marginality.

775 154 571 The contemporary Comanche's belief in ghosts serves to relieve disruptive intrasocial tensions by presenting the members of this society with a means of directing frustrations, hostility, and other emotions of a potentially dysfunctional nature, both to the individual and the group, toward a target outside the culture's boundaries. It is also significant that ghosts are outside the boundaries of white

society. Therefore the dangers of aggressing toward a source which could 775
effectively retaliate is lessened. Although witch fear serves this same function 154
in some cultures, the particular nature of Comanche witchcraft beliefs precludes 571
its similar use in Comanche society. In Comanche society witchcraft is usually 754
worked by *pubakuts*. Therefore, the individual who may have witched your uncle 154
last month may be the only one who could cure you if you contracted ghost sick- 571
ness tomorrow. 756

Debt to the Kiowa and Kiowa-Apache

It appears very likely that the Comanches borrowed heavily from their 177
Kiowa and Kiowa-Apache neighbor's ghost beliefs to revitalize and supplement 775
their own ghost complex. Possibly, the Comanche ghost complex lost much in
complexity and elaboration during the many decades of its relative insignificance
among the nomadic Comanches. The contemporary Comanche, Kiowa, and Kiowa-Apache notions of ghosts, their nature, and their effects on the living are very
similar in general design. However, Kiowa and Kiowa-Apache ghost beliefs,
relative to the Comanche's, seem to be much more systematic, consistent, and
elaborated. This view is substantiated by a perusal of some of the relevant field
notes of others who have done research among these peoples (Bittle 1967;
Freeman 1968). Sanapia's use of a crow feather amulet against ghosts can be 177
presented as a specific example. Sanapia and several other Comanche informants, 775
though feeling that crow feathers act to repel ghosts, could offer no explanation 825
for this peculiar property of the crow feathers. Kiowa and Kiowa-Apache inform- 778
ants, however, were quick to point out that the crow is the natural enemy of
the owl, a standard guise of the ghosts. Therefore, crow feathers are magically
used to enlist the aid of the crow against the owl. Comanches do not generally
hold this notion of the association of the owl with ghosts, though they value
crow feathers as protective amulets against ghosts. It appears that the Comanches
borrowed the crow feather amulet without borrowing the rationale for its use.

Habits of Ghosts

Comanche ghost notions are uncomplicated. The following themes appear 775
consistently in the accounts of actual ghost contact, though not so consistently in
the idealized ghost lore. The Comanches have defined the ghost's operating hours
to that time between sunset and sunrise and its area of operation in the majority
of cases to any place that is relatively isolated. Though the ghost can appear
during the daylight hours as a whirlwind, I collected no accounts of ghost sick-
ness being contracted during that time. Cedar smoke or cedar leaves serve the
Comanches as a totally effective ghost repellent. Thus, it seems that it would be 775
a simple matter to avoid the ghosts: Keep a supply of cedar leaves in your house, 154
and do not wander abroad at night in an isolated area unaccompanied. Yet

775 164 accompaniment of constant, periodically recurring emotional states rather than an expression of an emotional state (Alexander 1948:7).

Heuristically, the concept of vegetative neurosis is disappointing for our purposes. It leads us nowhere, for it contains no aids to determine the meaning of expression, the expressive "why" of ghost sickness, for example. A conversion reaction (synonym: conversion hysteria), however, is a symbolic expression of a specific emotional state. It is essentially an unusual form of communication. A mode of symbolic communication, to function, must possess meaning for the group, that is, the relationship of the symbol to the referent must be accepted by group consensus. Thus, if it can be established that ghost sickness is a conversion reaction in Comanche society, the suggestion can be made that it acts as a form of communication. If we can identify the referents to the symbology being employed in this communication, we can perhaps decipher the message and determine the psychogenic roots of ghost sickness.

A person with conversion hysteria substitutes a symptom for a psychological conflict. "For example, a girl of eighteen goes blind in an examination, thinking, 'I don't see how I can pass this,' and four years later goes blind again when her bridegroom is ordered overseas." (Cobb 1950:1514). Physiologically, conversion is no different from any normal method of expressing emotion, such as weeping, laughing, and blushing. Hysterical conversion, however, is motivated by unconscious impulses. Motor paralysis is the most common symptom in such instances. It is also noteworthy that conversion symptoms often imitate organic illness, that is, they represent the patient's notion of disease process.

Thus, it can be seen that the physiological nature of ghost sickness, paralysis of voluntary muscles, can be considered as at least similar to the general complexion of the major manifestations of conversion reactions. However, the nature of the precipitating factors involved remains a problem. What is the content of the "psychological conflict, unconscious alien impulse, or unbearable idea" (West 1962:94) which could cause a conversion reaction in a Comanche individual resulting in ghost sickness.

The Victim of the Ghost

186 775 177 154 156 In my study of the Comanche ghost-sickness victim, I noticed that a definite attempt at emulative adaptation to white society which failed, the unendurable psychological state of cultural marginality, and an extremely intense desire for reintegration with the more traditionally oriented group were the three most prevalent themes preceding the onslaught of ghost sickness. The victim usually sprang from the traditional group; therefore he desired reintegration with that particular group. Also, though the victim may have initially naively desired to interact in only one institution of white society, usually the economic system, his traditional group automatically defines him totally out of their category. Absolute outcasting from the traditional group is not what really happens in every case; however, it seems to be what the ghost-sickness victim thinks happened. The ghost-sickness victim will feel extremely anxious under the conditions outlined. He

does not consciously accept that he has done anything to deserve the negative 186
treatment which he feels he is receiving from both white and Indian society. 775
Anger toward white society and guilt feelings, perhaps based on his rejection of 177
the Indian way, might arise in him. He has been judged inadequate by both the 154
white and the Indian worlds. He belongs nowhere. An individual in this situation 156
must act.

The next problem he must face is the method by which reintegration with the native group can be accomplished. For this type of individual it is not easy, for he desires to become totally like the group which he once rejected. He must dramatically convince himself as well as his traditional group that he is an Indian, that he belongs. Simply returning to the family locale and indulging in self-conscious identification with ceremonial forms, for example, is not enough. He must have no doubts about his adequacy as an Indian. He can no longer tolerate ambivalency, and he must be as acceptable to himself as he is to his parent group.

Indian-ness and Ghost Sickness

In contemporary Comanche society there is only one trait which is unequiv- 186
ocally and exclusively Indian—the ability to contract ghost sickness. "Blood" means 775
nothing because of the great degree of intermarriage with other tribes and the 154
Comanche's long-standing custom of incorporating white and Mexican captives 156
into the family structure. Non-Indians can take part in Peyotism, dance in ceremonial dancing societies, and speak the Comanche language. A non-Indian, however, cannot incur ghost sickness. Therefore, to Comanches, someone who contracts ghost sickness must be a "real Indian."

The Efficiency of Ghost Sickness

Ghost sickness possesses several other characteristics which make it a very efficient disorder for the potential victim. It is socially visible; the ghost-sickness victim can wear the badge of his true Indian-ness on his face. It can only be cured by a native doctor. In this way the victim, by becoming the patient of the native doctor, states his faith in an extremely ancient Comanche institution. Because this doctor will no doubt cure him, the victim's faith is substantiated. Further, the Comanche community comes to the aid, succor, and support of the victim of the ghost—the common enemy. Associated with this fact is the function of the physical ugliness which the ghost victim possesses. By being so "pitiable," he can direct the course of his reintegration to a great degree through the Comanche institutionalized patterns of generosity and kindness to individuals who are in a pitiable condition. In this physical condition he can make personal demands which he could not make and expect to be carried out if he were not so afflicted. Also, since ghost-sickness symptoms are admirably suited to the requirements of conversion reactions, the affliction is manifestly ideal for the particular nature of the intolerable emotional state possessed by the potential ghost victim.

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

Precipitating Factors

186 The precipitating factors to ghost sickness need not be as externally
775 dramatic as those thus far presented. The drama and the trauma of these factors
154 dwell within the psychological makeup of the particular individual involved.
156 The contraction of ghost sickness can function as a psychic reminder to a Comanche that he is a Comanche. It can serve to reaffirm his ethnic identity. It may be a self-inflicted punishment by a native-oriented Comanche who begins to doubt his traditional culture. Ghost sickness has also served to dramatically solve generational tensions. A young person contracts ghost sickness to signal acquiescence to the parent generation's demands. However, all these factors are ultimately related to the disruptive influences of acculturation with the dominant white society.

186 The recently developed Comanche ghost complex appears to be a means
775 by which certain Comanche individuals can circumvent the psychological impasses
154 which have appeared as a result of the twentieth-century Comanche life situation.
156 It is particularly beneficial for the traditional group for several reasons. If a
184 Comanche individual chooses this means of relief, he is committed to return to
177 the traditionalist fold. The ghost complex might be viewed as a selective net which the traditional group has thrown around itself. Those Comanches who are drawn into the conditions which lead to the emotional states in which they would unconsciously choose ghost sickness as an "out" are usually relatively sensitive and intelligent individuals and therefore valuable as group members. They would have to fully and traumatically feel their intolerable cultural and psychological position prior to ghost sickness. Those Comanches who approach these same conditions and who fail to react to them, or acculturate, or turn to such relief as alcoholism, would not be very valuable social components to the traditional group in any case. This "net" operates to more effectively retain the big fish, while it lets the little fish run.

186 The fact that men are afflicted by ghost sickness more often than women
775 could be explained by several factors, particularly, the greater degree of inde-
154 pendence ideally expected of men, coupled with the real economic dependence
156 of men; in many cases, dependence on women. Women are more effectively con-
184 trolled by the primary group, while Comanche men are expected to "act like men"
177 in the face of economic difficulties and a white society which does not recognize
562 them as men.

Change in Behavior

186 The behavior change exhibited by ghost-sickness victims from prior to
775 the onset of ghost sickness until the termination of the cure corresponds with
154 one of the desires which stimulated the victim to ghost sickness in the first place—
156 total identification with the traditional group. They become model traditional-
184 oriented group members, while, prior to ghost sickness, they behaved in a manner
177 considered erratic, bizarre, or "crazy" by these Comanches.

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

754 witch sickness through her ability to ease the anxiety of the parents and therefore
854 decrease the anxiety which is communicated to the child. However, Sanapia can-
164 not alleviate certain factors, perhaps of an environmental nature, which have
756 caused tetany. It is also significant that with witch victims, because of their age, Sanapia is unable to communicate. In discussing the actual treatment of ghost sickness, it was seen that psychotherapeutic traits in her behavior toward her patient are ubiquitous.

Sanapia, Ghosts, and Ghost Sickness

A great amount of time has been spent in discussing ghosts, ghost sick-
756 ness, and the suggested causes of ghost sickness because of this complex's close
775 association to Sanapia's role in Comanche society. As an eagle doctor, Sanapia's
164 special thaumaturgic power is believed to be her ability to counteract or defeat
755 the ghost's malevolent influences on living men. Because of the nature of the symptoms associated with ghost sickness and because of their probable psychogenic etiology, she is almost always successful in treating the victim of the ghost. If the affliction which her patient possesses is an organically based transient unilateral facial paralysis, it will disappear of its own accord when it runs its course; and if the disorder is hysterically induced, the patient actually cures himself, while Sanapia more or less functions as a symbol to the patient that the time for his cure is at hand. Of course, the psychotherapeutic value of her method of curing cannot be minimized, and perhaps it could be said that the emotional state which she induces in her hysterical patient functions as a trigger for his self-healing.

756 Sanapia's most important overt function in contemporary Comanche society
775 is as a symbol of the Comanche's ability to withstand the attacks of the ghosts.
154 She also serves as the necessary key to the psychological reintegration of marginal Comanches who have "employed" the ghost-sickness conversion reaction. As long as Sanapia, or other eagle doctors, stand as a source of cure, Comanche individuals can contract ghost sickness as a means of relieving certain intolerable emotional states. This could also serve to explain the longevity of the institution of the Comanche eagle doctor, while the other kinds of Comanche native doctors have
756 long since ceased to exist. The human disorder associated with the eagle doctor's
177 particular brand of specialization, ghost sickness, has only increased with the
775 acculturation of the Comanche people, while the specialties of the other varieties
164 of Comanche doctors have been usurped during this same process. It is ironic that acculturation, while actively corroding the overall complexion of traditional Comanche culture, has also served to revive and augment the important function of a symbol of traditional Comanche culture, the Medicine woman.

With regard to Sanapia's niece's child, Sanapia said that she knew who 754
had witched the girl but did not tell the mother for fear of frightening her. 755
Sanapia does not suggest that any supernatural talents are involved in the ability 756
to identify the witch. Since Sanapia believes that witchcraft can only be operated
by those with a high degree of *puha*, the field of possibilities is immediately
narrowed. She evaluates the community in which the witch's victim lives and,
through a process of elimination, selects the witch. She does not make her choice
known for fear of frightening the victim or his parents, as has been mentioned,
and also because she feels that if her accusations are made public, it would only
cause further dissension among the Comanche people. She feels that there is
enough tension among the Comanches without adding accusations of witchcraft.

The Contemporary Situation

This chapter has dealt with Sanapia's treatment of a victim who has been [128]
witched by the magical insertion of the malevolent essence of an eagle plume.
Sanapia doctors also among the Wind River Shoshone, southern Cheyenne, south- [177]
ern and northern Arapaho, Kiowa, Kiowa-Apache, Ponca, Creek, and Fort Sill
Apache, as well as the Comanche; and thus she has confronted cases of witchcraft
other than the variety which has been described in this chapter. Her general
approach to a cure, however, is similar in all cases. She feels that the body of the [753]
victim has been put out of balance by some tangible or intangible entity; there-
fore, to correct the abnormal condition, she works to remove that which is causing
this physiological disequilibrium.

Given the antagonistic feelings beween the northern and southern Coman- 754
ches and the fact that patterns of witchcraft exist, it would seem that there would 184
be a high rate of intergroup witchcraft, at least being directed by the northerners. 177
This does not appear to be the case, a major reason being that the southerners
generally do not respond. They consider witches and witchcraft merely supersti-
tious beliefs, or, at best, nonexistent in modern times. A further possible explana- [101]
tion of this lack of intergroup witchcraft is the special distribution of the Comanche
bands—the more traditionally oriented bands cluster in the north and northwest
of the Comanche area while the more fully acculturated band members are
found in the south and southwest. There may be as many as 40 miles separating
members of these two groups. Therefore, there is no necessity for daily social [571]
interaction between members of the opposing "tribes," which could reduce the [578]
generalized hostilities to more intense and socially unsettling personal conflict,
thus better facilitating the desire and the opportunity for the execution of witch-
craft.

Witchcraft among contemporary Comanches is mainly intergenerational. 754
Older men and women, feeling their life power fading, turn to malevolent magic 561
in an attempt to augment their failing social prestige and to defend them- 578
selves against the more vital younger generation. The few cases of witchcraft
which I was able to investigate among the Comanches followed this general pat-
tern of essentially intergenerational jealousy and tension. This was also the basic

served a valuable function to the group and were therefore able to retain a certain 754
amount of prestige. Another factor which no doubt contributed to the raising 178
of the prestige of older Comanches and therefore to the decline in witchcraft was 887
the influence of Christianity with its stress on respect for the aged. 888

The suggestions which I have offered and which I feel are necessary for 754
an understanding of the relative insignificance of witchcraft among contemporary 178
Comanches are all ultimately rooted in the dynamics of acculturation. Witchcraft 177
has disappeared as an effective means of social control among Comanches as its 626
function has become obliterated by the changes brought about by acculturation with the dominant white society. Nothing served to directly replace the institution of Comanche witchcraft. This type of institution became meaningless as the very foundations for its existence were destroyed by the acculturative phenomenon which served to augment, equalize, and temporally lengthen, through essentially economic means, the levels of social power and prestige obtainable by all Comanche individuals.

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Sanapia, 1969.

The pervasive influence of acculturation is a fact which cannot be skirted, 177
however, and perhaps it is at the core of the inconsistencies between Sanapia and
the ethnographers of the early 1930s. Sanapia is particularly immediately affected 756
by the changes wrought by acculturation and change because of the nature of her 159
role. The notion of her "place" in Comanche society, plus the rigidly bound manner 177
in which her behavior is directed by certain supernatural sanctions, forces her to 554
react to change piecemeal. A Comanche not so bound as Sanapia to certain pre-

159 scribed modes of behavior and thought can ebb and flow with the stimuli of
756 acculturation. He can bend, withdraw, aggress, and withdraw again, while retain-
177 ing a homogeneous and integrated self-concept. Sanapia, however, is relatively
554 rigid and must react immediately lest her role structure be shattered.

Sanapia Prevails

159 To Sanapia, she is an eagle doctor first and foremost. Her whole life is
756 bound in this role; therefore, its protection is extremely dear to her. Sanapia
177 lives with compromise, rationalization, and intellectualization. Because of her
[157] functionalistic and pragmatic temperament, she must defend an institution which to her at times has little meaning in its particulars. Each new realization of acculturative changes stimulates her to attempt to fit this newly acquired realization into a nonantagonistic relationship to her role as Medicine woman. She knows that she must meet the threats of culture change directly if her institution is to continue to have meaning for Comanches who are reacting to acculturation.

In this manner she has incorporated elements and sentiments of Christianity and organized peyotism into her own religious structure in an attempt at compatibility with the religious atmosphere of her life situation. By accepting the basic tenets of Christianity and organized peyotism, she has also provided herself with further sources of supernatural powers. Sanapia has defined illness into "white" and "Indian" categories, thereby retaining her position in the overall medical structure of both cultures. She has borrowed words and concepts from the mass media to elaborate her views of certain aspects of physiology, health, and medicine. These are but a few examples. Sanapia, while anchoring her sentiments and loyalties in a traditional Comanche setting, has extended herself, through her concern with her profession, into the white culture.

Perhaps the most significant points this study has illustrated are the psychotherapeutic function which Sanapia possesses in contemporary Comanche
775 culture and the psychological function of ghost sickness. Although it cannot be
753 absolutely substantiated, it would appear that ghost sickness, in its present form,
177 is a new arrival in Comanche society. Ghost sickness can be considered, in most cases, a conversion reaction whose negative emotional basis is founded in the cultural and personal confusion and tension produced by the increasingly efficient success of acculturation in corroding the traditional basis of Comanche
159 society. It then appears that Sanapia is the curer of a dynamic and functional
756 human disorder. She is not a specialist in the treatment of broken bones or gun-
177 shot wounds like a buffalo doctor, nor of rattlesnake bites, like a snake doctor; she is the curer of an illness which is psychodynamic in nature. As her people change, ghost sickness will no doubt change, and Sanapia and successive eagle doctors' interpretation of ghost sickness will also change. Sanapia treats the individual rather than a specific static human affliction; she is essentially a native psychiatrist. This dynamic flexibility has enable Comanche eagle doctors to exist long after the other varieties of Comanche native dotcors have had their function usurped by white doctors during the ongoing process of acculturation.

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

000 driven east to the Nations and easily had at least a thirty-six hour start on any pursuit.

Caring for the store's money was a disturbing chore. It was nearly two years before we were able to get a safe, and yet another year before we had a local bank. About the time we got our store started, Dad bought the relinquishment on an improved claim. It was about a mile and a half from the store to the house on the claim. The homesteader was returning to Texas by wagon, so he sold us his furniture as well. When we began living on the claim, it meant carrying the money back and forth.

As it was always dark, winter or summer, before we could close the store, we worked various and sundry schemes to get the money back and forth. It was my job to hitch up the team, as well as to carry the silver. We could easily have two to three hundred dollars in silver if the freight wagons had been held up a day or two.

After I had tied the team out front, I would continue working around the store, including making necessary trips out to the tent warehouse in the rear. Finally I would stroll out into the darkness and not come back. I would have the coin sacks, my shotgun, and my bird dog. I tried to go a little different route each night; and before I approached the house I would send the dog ahead to inspect the house and barn to see if we had any company.

Mother handled the paper money and checks. She had a brownish tan wallet like the ones men carried in their inside coat pockets in those days. It was about the color of mesquite grass, and she had several feet of black thread fastened to it. She planned, if anyone stopped her, to throw the wallet out into the prairie. The thread would help us find it the next morning.

439 Our Indian business just seemed to happen. At least we had made
177 no conscious effort to attract it. In fact, Dad and Mother never made
443 any effort to learn the Comanche language. We were surprised to learn later that many merchants made it a practice to boost the price if an Indian was buying. I am sure that idea never occurred to any of
[797] us. We were later to find that the missionaries had been checking our prices and bookkeeping and had passed the word on to the Indians that we had one price for all.

We had no family history of past trouble with Indians; so when an Indian came in the store we accorded him the same degree of courtesy that we did a white person, and the Indians responded.

32: Gilles 0,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

THE LOST ONES

WHEN WE WENT into the Comanche country in the spring of 1902, 114
it was not only a new country but a new way of life to me, a fourteen-year-old Kansas farm boy. The people I met, homesteaders or home-seekers, came from nearly every state in the Union, as well as from the Indian Nations. Ringed about us were Comanche families, camped rather than living on their allotments.

It was the Comanches, of course, who made the greatest impression on me. Almost as soon as Dad got his trading store opened, we started having an Indian trade. It just seemed to happen. We made no conscious effort to attract the Indians and wouldn't have known how had we wanted to try.

Mother bought our opening stock of dry goods, and she continued to do the buying as long as we ran the store. A few bolts of bright 443
colors, in both calico and gingham, together with matching cotton 177
braid, possibly proved an attraction to the Indian women at the start. Then too, Dad and Mother had the theory that we should treat everyone with the same degree of courtesy. These two things were the only concessions, if they were concessions, you could say we made.

Another thing that probably helped was that a missionary who 443
ran a mission back to the northeast on Blue Beaver Creek made a 177
check, unbeknownst to us, of the prices we charged to the white and 797

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

443 the Indian customers. Later he ran another check on the accuracy of
177 our bookkeeping. He passed this information on to the Indians. I can
797 well remember my embarrassment when one day, after he had finished
his investigations, the Reverend Mr. Deyo shook my hand and thanked
me for "dealing honestly with my people." It seemed just a little
hard for him to understand that a white merchant would voluntarily
443 deal honestly with the Indians. But I am sure Dad, Mother, and I
177 would have been just as puzzled had anyone suggested we deal any
other way. At least, I never heard the subject discussed.

114 I am positive that at the time I had never heard the word "romantic,"
but it represents the way I thought about the Comanches in our
101 trade territory. They belonged to the group known as Quohadie Tejas,
[621] or Antelope Eaters. Their range had been the high plains, centered
in what is now the Texas Panhandle, and their leader was Quanah
Parker. They had fought at Adobe Walls and in June, 1876, had been
114 the last of the Comanches to surrender to the Army. By simple arithmetic,
I knew that every male from the late forties upward had been
a warrior. For my own convenience in thinking of them, I separated
them into a group I called "the old fellows."

561 There was another group I didn't have to separate out, those ranging
571 in age from their late teens to the late thirties or early forties. They
[609] separated themselves out. Not only did they hold themselves aloof
from the whites, but there was a separateness between them and the
older Indians—apparently including their own parents.

561 I learned that these particular Indians had been East to a school
871 financed by the government at Carlisle, Pennsylvania. I learned that
657 most of them had the equivalent of a high school education, and some
[873] had done college work. Now that they were home with the tribe, they
made not the slightest move to use what they had learned, either to
better their own condition or to be of assistance to the tribe.

561 They talked only Comanche among themselves, and wouldn't speak
571 English when conversing with whites if they could make themselves
191
609 understood by grunts, sign language, or pointing. I called these Indians
the Carlisle group.

142 These young men and older boys, as well as the girls of the same
age group, were better-looking Indians than the older, warrior-aged
group and their squaws. It was most noticeable in their legs, which
were straighter and better developed and appeared longer—the bandy
look of the oldsters' legs had disappeared. These young Indians had

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
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These young Indians had
spent less time on horseback and more time inside, out of the weather; 142
nor had they ever ridden the war trails. The women of this group [492]
took better care of their hair. The older women's hair generally had [302]
an untidy look.

This sullen aloofness and aimless drifting didn't affect the younger 857
children—it seemed to set in when a boy got to be fifteen or sixteen 157
years old. The younger children, when they arrived home on vacation, [883]
were bursting with energy. They rode their ponies helter-skelter over [492]
the prairies and rivaled the channel cat in Cache Creek with their [481]
cavorting, swimming, and diving.

They came to town with their parents—the girls riding in a hack 493
or the little lumber wagon with the women. If it was the wagon, the bows and canvas cover converted it into a little prairie schooner. On a nice day the canvas would be rolled up a ways on either side, to let the air through.

Comanche men and boys never rode in the wagon or hack with [562]
the women. The boys would be riding along with their father, horse- 492
back. If there were not enough stock saddles to go around, the younger boys would be riding ancient Mexican-type saddles. These Mexican saddles had a flat look, compared to the up-to-date stock saddle. Neither the fork nor the cantle was as high, while the seat was broader. Its most distinguishing feature was the top of the fork. Thin, broad, and round, it made one think of a pancake. I am sure the tops of some of the horns were as much as four inches across.

Somehow, the youngsters always had a few nickels to spend for 857
candy, cakes, and wax—their name for all kinds of chewing gum. 432
The happy parents stood around and glowed in their pride. Sometimes 858
the parents had one of the youngsters show off—they would have one 191
of the boys interpret as they bought their groceries or other store items. They wanted everyone in the store to see how much their children had learned.

But all this youthful, happy exuberance suddenly vanished in the 883
late teens. Few of the girls stayed in school as long as the boys, and 157
the girls never got the good from their Carlisle clothes. About the 883
second or third time they came to the store after their last year in 291
school, they would buy some gay-colored, patterned calico along with matching cotton braid. The next time you saw them, they would be wearing a *pit-sí-qui-na.*

The young men did wear out their white man's clothes, but seem- [177]

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

883 ingly remembered none of the white man's ways. And they seemed to
177 have forgotten the old tribal ways as well.

[241] In my thinking, I found it convenient to put the women and girls
562 in yet another group. One of the first things I learned was the taboo
191 which prevented women and girls from talking to men, Indians or
white, other than their own menfolks, excepting on the most necessary
[123] occasions. Because of this I never addressed them unless they spoke
to me.

124 I was consciously making every effort to learn as much of the
[122] language as I could, and in time I was able to catch on quickly to
what the men were talking about and to follow their conversation.
[198] But the women seemed to have a vocabulary of their own. I would
often listen to a group of women talking in the store, or out in the
camp, but I could distinguish only an occasional word.

657 Those who conceived of educating the Indian youths also con-
871 ceived the idea that the educating must be done in faraway places,
and little has been done through the years to change the practice.
[171] Even as I type this article, several hundred Indian children from New
Mexico, Arizona, and other western states are attending Chilocco
Indian School in northern Oklahoma.

657 While in Carlisle or other Indian boarding schools, Indian children
871 had slept in clean beds with sheets changed every week. They had sat
177 in chairs at a table with a clean tablecloth and had eaten food served
from clean dishes. They had been taught the use of the knife, fork,
178 and spoon. But when the Indian boy arrived home for good, he had
only his parents' camp to go to. Though the Comanche families were
living on their allotments, they continued to live a camp life, much the
same as they had lived the previous twenty-five years as Reservation
Indians.

In this camp our Carlisle graduate sat on the ground, or a log, or
352 a goods box. He ate his food from a pie tin and was served directly
264 from the kettle in which the food had been cooked. If a boy was
lucky, he had a fork and spoon to go along with his pocketknife as
eating utensils.

Spring, summer, and fall they all slept in the brush arbor on plat-
513 forms and under seldom-washed cotton blankets. When the northers
[342] became blue and came with regularity, they slept in conventional
tents, either on the ground or on low platforms constructed with
342 poles. Once in a while, as I rode on my collection trips, I would see a

136 By the time the settlers moved in, the antelope had disappeared
from the Comanche country, as well as the deer and turkey. As early
as we arrived, I never saw a turkey. Some of the small black bear held
[224] out in the Wichita mountains for a few years. But there was no possible chance for the Indian to live on large game.

Ducks, geese, plover, curlew, snipe, bobwhite, and prairie chickens
[223] were plentiful, and West Cache Creek was teeming with channel cat,
[226] blue and yellow cat, and perch; yet I never saw an Indian hunting
birds or dangling a hook in the water.

[262] Fish-eating, I was to learn later, was almost taboo. Wallace and
[261] Hoebel, doing research for their Comanche history, gained the impression that the Comanches ate fish only to keep from actually starv-
[609] ing. They had no objection to white people's fishing in their streams.
I fished for miles up and down West Cache Creek, and no one ever
objected.

000 I have often thought if I owned a farm West Cache ran through, I would charge people just to look at the creek. To the eye of a boy, there was nothing so beautiful as the blue-green water running over the slightly reddish-tinted granite sand. There was no quicksand on West Cache. Its sand was so sharp you scarcely sank in it when you walked, nor did you rile the water. Here and there were small beaches of clean sand where the swimmer could enter and leave the water. This cool, clear water came from the Wichita Mountains. Strong, vigorous elms along the high banks furnished shade for the swimmer or fisherman. More than sixty years later, I still feel it was the most beautiful prairie stream I have ever seen.

561 Too young in those days to realize the cause, I couldn't help but
571 sense the terrible separateness between my Carlisle group and the older men and women. Later I was to realize that government educators
657 of the late nineteenth century, in carrying out their theory of educating
871 young Indians, violated the unwritten bedrock commandment of hu-
177 man behavior: "Thou shalt not speak ill of any man in the presence
155 of his offspring." You must not cut away the support from beneath
his feet. You may be able to furnish him another platform, on which
he may see fit to step; but he can never step onto your platform if
you have first destroyed his footing.

[191] Even the Comanche children's language became taboo at Carlisle.
After drilling into the children's minds what terrible people their par-

ents were, the teachers continued to accent the differences between 657
the parents' behavior and what would be expected of the children 871
when they left school. Dinning this into the children's ears for a dozen 177
years or so without further plans for the future, the teachers sent them 155
back to these same parents. Pride of parentage, pride of tribe, pride
of language had been either destroyed or so badly weakened and eroded
that the young Indian had nothing to step from with confidence.

Instead of seeking to make a place for himself, aiding his parents 885
and tribe by using his training and education, the Carlisle Indian
moved into his parents' camp. There, without self-respect and certain- [156]
ly with no hope for betterment lying ahead, he contented himself with [434]
living on his meager Grass Money and what lease money his allotment [427]
brought in, when and if it was rented.

At that time an agriculture lease brought in only $1.25 per acre, or 427
$200 per year. In addition to the $200, the government required the 423
lessee, as further compensation over the first five-year period, to fence [434]
the allotment with a four-wire fence with posts every rod, to break out a certain number of acres of sod for crops, to build a fourteen by twenty-eight box house with a shingle roof, and to dig and wall up a well at least forty feet deep, unless plentiful water was found at a lesser depth. Grass leases brought even less.

Land along the streams had been chosen by the Comanches for 423
their allotments, and this gave them a monopoly on water, wood, and
bottomland. Those with land along West Cache and Post Oak creeks [134]
also had a fine grade of sand to sell. These 160-acre tracts, one for
each man, woman, and child living on a certain date in 1901, were the remnant of the millions of acres these Indians' forefathers had roamed over and ruled for many, many centuries.

No one expected the old ones to change their ways so radically as 241
to try to learn to farm. But it was beyond my boyish understanding
why the younger Indians fresh from school, some even with college
rating, didn't try farming. Many of them had first class sandy-loam [134]
bottomland. They could look around them and see white families making a living on their upland farms, putting out orchards, and even adding a room to their houses now and then.

I discovered in time that a number of the old fellows were really 123
going out of their way to be nice to me, and in lost pup fashion I responded. I thought little of it at the time, and took these friendships in my stride. Maybe I thought of them as my due. It wasn't

123 until years later, after I had gone away to college myself, that I tried
to analyze the reasons for the old fellows' interest in me.

One conclusion I reached was that because of my size and what
they saw me doing, they had thought of me as being older than I
000 actually was. I was as tall as I am now and weighed a muscular 180
pounds. My parents were expecting a man's work from me, and they
saw to it that I kept busy. In my skills, I could do a man's work and
was doing it, though I was carrying around on my large body only a
fourteen-year-old head and, of course, a like amount of experience.

While ~~we~~ were getting the store into operation, Dad hired the team and me out several days to haul rock for the new school's foundation. Then, to have some spending money, I hired myself out to a farmer to break prairie sod—driving one of his teams. I hauled freight for the store, waited on the trade, and, after Dad bought a relinquishment, did the necessary farm work on the claim. When I had leisure
123 I fished and hunted. These old fellows often saw me five or more miles
[481] from town, and to the horse-minded Comanches that was an unheard-of
distance for anyone to walk.

This continuous activity of mine must have contrasted bitterly
with the inertness of their own offspring. And one other possibility
[273] occurred to me. Almost all the older Comanches drank hard liquor,
[609] when the opportunity was present, but they had great respect for any
white man who abstained.

Here was a man who could obtain whiskey at any time and yet
didn't drink. It meant something special to them. In their book I was
a Jesus Man. Apparently they could conceive of no other reason for
[177] abstention. This thinking possibly related to the missionaries, sent out
[797] by churches in the East, who were the only white men they had come
in contact with who didn't drink.

609 One Carlisle man who found a beneficial and happy use for his
education was Charley Ross. He must have been one of the very first
Comanches sent to Carlisle after the surrender in 1876. A happy, outgoing
chap, he made a life's work of smoothing the way between the
[123] white man and the older Indians. I saw him often and knew him quite
well while Dad had his trading store. Once I saw him interpreting a
sermon at an Indian camp meeting. After I started to practice law in
Oklahoma City, I saw him acting as an interpreter in court trials, and
once in a legislative committee hearing. He was always available when
his people needed him.

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584 to the Comanches. The girl told young Parker that if it was his intention to live around Cache, become another Carlisle loafer, and bask in the reflection of his father's glory, she wasn't interested. But if he was willing to go away and live where people had never heard of the Comanches or of Quanah Parker, she would marry him.

Quanah's son agreed to leave Oklahoma, and they married and moved to Florida. The one thing young Parker could think of that
472 he would have the nerve to try was driving a baggage wagon. So they bought a team and a light dray, and he began hauling baggage and making light deliveries. He made a living from the start, and in time built a first-class transfer business.

177 609 But Charley Ross and Quanah Parker's son were exceptions. As a lawyer in Oklahoma City I saw a number of pitiable incidents in the courts, in which Indians who couldn't catch hold of the new life were testifying through an interpreter. I know they had been sent to government schools, but they preferred to pretend they didn't know English, rather than to accept the responsibilities of their training. They wished to be thought of as belonging to an older generation that had been denied advantages.

562 [563] 842 The educated young women, too, fell into the dull, dawdling existence led by their men, although I did know two girls, just out of school, who married industrious white men and became hard-working wives, and whose unions prospered financially. (Comanche wives, by the way, seldom bore more than two children, and often only one. But mixed marriages, particularly those of a white man and a Comanche woman, produced fruitfully.)

191 124 One episode illustrates the attitude of most of the educated women. We had been operating the store several months, and I was proud of my good trade vocabulary. I knew the Comanche name for almost everything in the store that might interest the Indians, and I know their names and designations of money. One day, however, I was neither making myself understood by a very old squaw nor understanding what she was trying to tell me.

The ancient one's patience wore thin, and I am sure the line of chatter flowing from her withered lips in a stream was not complimentary to either my intelligence or my ancestry. Then I was suddenly rescued by a pleasant-faced, nice-mannered young Comanche woman on whom I had waited many times. "She wants coffee," she told me in perfect English.

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Quanah Parker seemed to be the Indian with 643
the greatest influence, and the *Star* and *Journal* had a story of some [114]
sort about him in nearly every issue.

They ranged from the story about his white mother's having died of a broken heart when she was captured and returned to her own people, to stories about his physical prowess and his ability as a leader—about how, when once he had led his braves into Fort Sill under arms and surrendered, he had turned his attention to being a leader in peace. Then there was much said of how he had become a business adviser to other southwestern tribes. All in all, the stories painted a picture of a versatile and dedicated leader.

Two of these stories made me aware that the Comanches prac- 595
ticed polygamy. One had to do with the decision of some Texas cattle- 643
men, who had been renting Indian grass from Quanah, that he should 177
have a house. They hauled the lumber from Wichita Falls. They had to ford it across the Red River's quicksand and drag it through the mud of high-banked Deep Red, a total of fifty-five miles as the crow flies, to a site three and a half miles from where the town of Cache now stands, and on the west bank of West Cache Creek. The house could be considered an apartment house. Each of Quanah's wives had an apartment. In addition, there was a general living area.

The other story that stands out in my memory had to do with the 643
Indian Department's efforts to do away with polygamy before the 595
white people actually moved in and set up local government on a 657
county level. Once this was done, everyone would be subject to the Oklahoma territorial law.

The department pinned its hopes on winning over Quanah Parker, the last war leader of the Comanches. Not only was he respected by the Comanches, but he had become a sort of bellwether to the other Indians involved in this opening—the Kiowas, Caddos, Wichitas, and Apaches.

As the department considered this a very minor issue, its officials apparently approached Quanah Parker casually on the subject. They simply explained that the new officers of the local communities would have to arrest any Indian with more than one wife, just as they would have to arrest any white man found with multiple wives.

The solution, they said, was very simple. All the Indian had to do was pick out the wife he wanted to keep and then explain to the others that under white man's law they were surplus and would have to move elsewhere. "You see," they went on plausibly, "if they

452 When their money ran out before payment time, we would credit those who were not heavy drinkers until the next Grass Money time. Though all merchandise was charged to the husband, the wives bought in the same way. We followed the custom of keeping the sales slip for each wife's purchases with her name, but we were never called upon to show who bought what. I wondered whether the wives had an after-payment settlement.

432 The women always had a lot of fun buying dry goods. We kept yardsticks laid out along the dry-goods counter so that a woman could point to the particular bolt she was interested in. Each bought for herself and her children; but as each made her choices, the other wife or wives stood by the counter and passed remarks freely about her selections. These remarks always caused much merriment, not only within the group itself but also from other Indian women listening in.

177 One white custom at which the Comanche women never ceased
829 to wonder was the freedom with which white women would converse with men other than those of their own families. A homesteader's wife who had not talked to anyone but her husband for two weeks would come in plumb full of talk. As she was doing her buying, she would tell me all about the crops, the new calves or colts, and where she and her husband would be driving to church or a picnic the next day. In turn she would want to know all about what happened in town, who had had a baby, who had died, and all the gossip. Meanwhile Indian women who had, I knew, been to Carlisle or Chilocco would be listening very intently and talking in low tones to other women sitting near, apparently describing the conversation.

562 Comanche men and boys could scarcely help being vain, with all
the attention the women and girls of the family bestowed upon them.
This was especially apparent when the family as a whole was going to
292 a gathering of any kind, white or Indian. The women would have
the finest of shirts and neck scarves prepared for the husband and
the boys to wear for the occasion. Often the shirt and bandana would
302 be made from the finest red or pink silk. Nearly all the men wore
301 their hair long, and the husband would sport a new hairdo with strips
of otter skin or fancy yarn braided in with the hair to increase the
292 size of the braid. The white sheet that was rolled up and worn around
the waist like a sash had been washed and sun-bleached until it was of
a dazzling whiteness.

smiled. Even Charley's old father-in-law, Mi-he-suah, a veteran of 152
many years on the People's war trails and one of the first casualities of
the battle of Adobe Walls, let his face light up now and then with a
happy smile; and Mrs. To-pet-chy, the sister-in-law, and her children
smiled often. Smiling Comanches were rare, and when one saw a
smile on the face of one of the old fellows, it seemed a bit of a miracle.

Charley's first job in Oklahoma was with the Chilocco Indian 464
School. Next he worked for the Kiowa Agency at Anadarko. Then
came the opportunity to work for Sam Burnett as a cowboy on the
Burnett Ranch in Texas. Charley and Sam Burnett became good 609
friends—the Burnetts, father and son, had the reputation of getting
on well with the Indians—and while Charley worked on the ranch
he also became acquainted with many other Texas cattlemen. Mrs.
Cato especially remembers his having spoken of the Waggoners.

The Burnett Ranch occupied much of the land between Wichita 427
Falls and the Red River to the north. Sam Burnett also rented grass [177]
from Quanah Parker on the north side of the river, and he was one
of the Texas cattlemen and grass users who in 1884 built a house for
Quanah on the bank of West Cache Creek, northwest of the present
town of Cache, Oklahoma. When the Indian Department took over [657]
the leasing of the grass, Burnett continued his leasing until the country
was opened for homesteading.

From Albert Clark, a half-blood Comanche employed at the Anadarko 551
Agency, I learned that Charley Ross acquired his Anglo first 177
name while he worked for Sam Burnett. Mr. Clark's parents had [115]
moved to the present town of Faxon, where they lived close to Charley,
and as a lad Mr. Clark often talked to him. On one occasion
Charley told young Albert the story of his name. One night, he said,
the cowhands were all sitting around the wagon eating, when Sam
Burnett called Che-appy to come and sit by him. He told Che-appy
that he didn't like his name and was going to give him a better one.
"From now on," he said, "your name is Charley Ross."

When I learned that Charley had worked as a cowboy for Sam 492
Burnett, I understood something about him that had bothered me. I
remembered Charley as a very graceful horseman, like all the Comanches,
who sat their horses as if they belonged there and nowhere
else. Charley had an extra grace, especially in his mounting and dismounting,
which were done with an even flow of only the necessary
movements. Perhaps the proper word is rhythm. But my mental pic- [177]

492 ture of him always had him mounting his horse from the left side,
177 white-man fashion; and his daughter, Mrs. Cato, says that my memory
is correct. The Spaniards had been the Comanches' riding teachers,
and because in Spain a horse is mounted from the right side, the Comanches
mounted from the right. Charley Ross, however, learned
from the Burnett cowboys to mount from the left. From them he also
must have learned to train his saddle horse to the ground hitch, in
which the rider drops his reins to the ground and the horse stands
until the reins are picked up again. As far as I know, this is a cowboy
trick.

142 Certain of Charley's physical characteristics, though they were especially
evident when he was swinging on or off his horse, came not
from his days on the Burnett ranch, but from his earlier years at
Carlisle. A distinguishing feature of the Carlisle Indians, which Charley
possessed, was their straight, long legs, which contrasted with the
[492] bandy legs of the warrior group. The old fellows showed the effect
of a lifetime spent horseback. Also, Charley was typical of the products
of the Indian boarding schools in being some inches taller than
most of the Comanches of his generation or older, who ranged in
height from five feet four inches to five feet six. Charley was five feet
[146] ten or eleven inches tall. The balanced diet the students at the schools
received, the regular meals, the protection from the elements, and the
smaller amount of horseback riding during the growing years probably
account for the extra height of both boys and girls and the loss
of the bandy look from their legs.

177 Though Charley was like the rest of the returning Carlisle students
in these bodily ways, he was very different from them in his
attitudes. It was as though the others shed the school years, and every-
609 thing connected with them, and shoved it all under a log on West
191
[432] Cache. When they came into our store to make a purchase, they asked
for it by its Indian name. They never uttered a word of English if
191 grunting or pointing would get the job done. Nor would they inter-
571 pret for us, even when it would be to the advantage of an older
609 Indian. For example, one of the older Indians might have a check he
had received for the sale of a horse or steer, but he would know nothing
but what he had been told concerning its amount. We would be
willing to cash the check, but we needed to know that the Indian was
aware of the sum named in it. There might be a number of educated
young Indians around, but it would be almost impossible to find one

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in Charley's home, though his son To-pet-chy's home was only a short 606 distance away, on the east side of West Cache Creek. And though a Jesus Man (Christian), he belonged to a native Baptist church.

I am sure I felt a bit of intellectual awe in the presence of Charley 181 Ross, and this was renewed at our meetings over the years. Here was a man, it must be remembered, who was born into a stone-age culture that was without knowledge of the smelting of iron or any other metal, and without the skill to forge tools from metal already smelted. From the viewpoint of the white people of that time, the Comanches were murderers, rapists, home-burners, kidnappers of women and children, horse thieves, cattle thieves, and all-round savages. History justifies this opinion, but there is this saving grace for the Comanche: he was here first. The white man was the invader. The empire of Comanchería had been forged and was in existence more than eighty-five years before George Washington became president of the United States. From the ruins of this empire came Charley Ross, who first 177 found a way to enter the white man's world and then set about softening the impact between the two races that events decreed should live side by side. Mrs. Cato wrote in a letter to me, "My father was a very intelligent man, above the average, and so very much interested in higher education for his race of people and his own children. Even though he himself did not receive full benefit of complete education, he had the mind of a college graduate."

What a man accomplishes during his lifetime does not complete his true measurement. One must also judge how well he has projected himself into the next generation by adding the accomplishments of his children. Charley Ross's son-in-law, Mr. Cato, has told me that at the end of the 1965-66 school year Charley's children and grandchildren had completed forty-seven years of teaching. Others, not teachers, hold responsible positions with railroads, oil companies, and hospitals.

I have emphasized Charley Ross's pleasant manners and ready 157 smile. But there was no servility about him, nor did he ever attempt to please everyone at the cost of any sacrifice of principle. He was a positive character about whom I never heard a derogatory word, either from whites, many of whom were always looking for a flaw or chink in his armor of friendliness, or from his tribesmen, who tended to distrust any Indian who earned the friendship of white people. He went about his self-appointed task of being a catalyst for the two races with good will and common sense.

115 Choctaw and had served in a Mississippi regiment during the war. He had married a white woman who was a good dressmaker. They decided to see the West from a covered wagon. When they got to North Texas, they began working at the different ranches. His wife would do sewing for the womenfolks, and our narrator would work as a ranch hand.

In due time, they drifted to the Comanche country and worked
643 for Quanah Parker. Chief Parker was running both cattle and horses
[231] on his ranch and was in need of a rider. The cowboy's wife sewed for the womenfolks. But Chief Parker was having trouble. A young
643 Texan named Emmet Cox was running some long-horned steers on
593 Comanche graze, and this personable young cattleman was wanting
584 to marry one of Quanah's daughters, named Nau-noc-ca.

Chief Parker was willing, the bridegroom was eager; it was Nau-noc-ca who was holding up the parade. She was a new kind of a Comanche girl to her father. He was chief of all the Comanches, and from time to time he was called to Washington to confer with the President of the United States; but he no longer ruled his own household.

When he told one of his daughters to marry this white man by a Comanche ceremony, she said no. And she kept on saying no. This was something the chief couldn't understand—a no, coming from one of his own womenfolks.

643 Nau-noc-ca had been attending the school for Indians at Carlisle,
593 584 Pennsylvania, and she was doing her own thinking and planning.
177 Somewhere during her schooling she made the discovery that she was her own woman. She had no objections to the bridegroom. It is very possible she was flattered to be the choice of this well-to-do young white man. She had been educated in the white man's school at Carlisle, in the white man's ways. She herself was one-quarter white, and she was marrying a white man. Why shouldn't she be dressed as a white bride would dress, and be married by a white minister? These were her demands.

All the commands of her father, all the pleadings of her intended husband and attempted persuadings by her mother, Wee-ke-ah, went for naught. She had lost all fear of disobeying her father, and her
643 decision was final. A white bride's trousseau, a wedding like a white
593 woman's wedding with a white Christian minister, or no wedding.

585 177 Quanah and the groom surrendered. Our Indian cowboy's wife

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was told to make a list of the things a white girl would require for 643
a wedding outfit. Consulting at all times with Nau-noc-ca as to her 593
wishes, his wife made out the list, and Quanah sent our narrator, 585
with the money and a packhorse, to Wichita Falls for the wedding 177
finery.

So Nau-noc-ca married her white lover, dressed in all the furbelows and adornments a white girl could have wished, and a white missionary minister performed the ceremony.

"Stranger He Come"

IN THE SPRING of 1922 I found it necessary to spend a weekend at 115
Gage, a small Northwest Oklahoma town. While I was there, an old cowman told me a story about his dealings with Quanah Parker. The old chap said he was a cowboy on the first cattle drive across [643]
the Comanche land, in what is now Oklahoma, and he was trail boss on the second herd to cross Quanah Parker's domain. This would have been shortly after the surrender of the Comanches to the Army at Fort Sill in June, 1875, and before Quanah began leasing graze to Burnett and Waggoner, Texas ranchers.

An experienced drover came to the community where his father's 000
ranch was located, wanting to make up a trail herd of stock cattle. That is to say, he wanted a herd of mostly "she stuff"—yearling heifers to old cows—bulls, and yearling steers. He proposed to drive this herd to Wyoming, where there was a market for stock cattle with Wyoming ranchers.

He had made a number of drives to Dodge City, Kansas, and had seen such herds being put together from rejects; cows heavy with calf, cows with calves at their sides, bulls, and steers and heifers too young or otherwise unsuited for the butcher or feed-lot buyers. These herds were being trailed to Wyoming.

My narrator got his job, largely because his father had been the first to sign up cattle for the proposed drive. The drover planned to cross Comanche land, because it would save at least 120 miles—60 east and 60 back west—and to overtake the herd by way of the Chisholm trail. Eight miles is a good day's drive of stock cattle, and this route would shorten the drive at least fifteen days. The drover had recently delivered a herd of steers to the Army at Fort Sill for issue to the Indians, and had met Quanah Parker.

The Chief had agreed, for so many large steers, to let him drive 643
437

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A HOUSE FOR QUANAH PARKER

IN THE LATTER PART of 1883 or early in 1884, Texas cattlemen persuaded Quanah Parker, that he should have for his family a house like the ones white men lived in. This was less than ten years after Quanah had led the remnant of a once great tribe into Fort Sill to surrender to the United States Army. It never occurred to Quanah to wonder why the cattlemen could afford to build him a home or to think that it had any connection with their renting tribal grassland from him at much less than its value. 643 609 [342] [177] [427]

Quanah chose a site for his house on West Cache Creek, soon after the creek left the mountains. The site is about three miles northwest of present-day Cache, Oklahoma. At the time there would not have been another structure from Fort Sill west to Texas, nor from the Wichita Mountains south to the Red River, a distance of forty miles. 643 351

The lumber for the house was hauled from Wichita Falls, Texas, an overall distance of sixty miles. The forty miles from the river to the site was mostly a beautiful level to slightly rolling prairie, except for the last seven miles. There the freighters would have touched the edge of the blackjack and post oak area. This scrub timber began where Post Oak Creek was forded. 133 [137]

On many occasions, when I was going to the Grass Money payments, I have used the Post Oak ford the freighters probably used. These payments were often made at the reservation located just west of the town of Cache. Post Oak and West Cache occupy the same bottom in this locality, and the freighters probably stayed to the west side of West Cache. 000

I have driven freight wagons loaded with lumber over these same prairies, although I was hauling from Lawton instead of to Wichita Falls. I assure you it was no job for a sissy. For the last forty miles of their journey, there would not have been so much as a culvert. [133]

The lumber for Quanah's house, according to my figures, would have made fifteen to seventeen large loads—loads that would have required four to five yoke of oxen, or three span of mules. Assuming the lumber was hauled during the dry summer season, the prairie proper would have presented no problem, as it becomes almost as hard and unyielding as a cement roadway. But the first thirty miles of the journey offered three challenges. 133

The first, of course, was the Red River. If you catch it at low ebb,

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000 30 men, 120 oxen or 90 mules, plus a cook wagon and team and two cooks. I figure twenty days for the outward part of the trip and five days to unload and return to Wichita Falls. Seven days of this time, in my opinion, would have been used up in fording the Red River. It is entirely possible that the freighters found it necessary to unload half of each wagonload for the river crossing. This would have necessitated two trips for each wagon, besides the time consumed in unloading and reloading. Nor have I made allowance for time lost because of bad weather or waiting for streams to run down. I am quite sure the freight cost was much greater than the cost of the lumber at the Wichita Falls lumberyard.

All this is hard to imagine now. When one crosses the Red River at Burkburnett, on a modern highway bridge, and sees the wide expanse of sand, he can easily visualize the freighters' problem. But when he approaches Deep Red Run on a graded and paved highway and crosses the creek itself, he will miss the drama of the undertaking entirely. The creek's watershed has been under cultivation for over half a century, and the depth of the stream's channel is now but a fraction of what it was in those days. There is no longer any evidence of the terraced canyon sides. Timber has been cut away. Even the pecan groves are gone. From the highways I have traveled recently there is no evidence of oxbow lakes. The constant flooding of the creek's bottom has evidently filled the lakes with alluvia. But sixty-odd years ago, when I was surveying from the river crossing north, I distinctly remember having spent six hours, one day, running three miles of line. I crossed Deep Red three times in the three miles. This meant climbing up and down the steep banks and wading the waist-deep red water and mud. When I was discussing my experiences in camp that night, I had to refer to my field notes to find out how many compass settings I had made in the three miles.

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Heavy dimension lumber was used in the building of Quanah Parker's house, and it was well-constructed. Part of the house was still in use eighty years later. A few years ago the army took over the area where it stood for additional missile range, and the structure had to be moved.

Apparently Quanah left the planning of the house to his cattlemen friends, specifying only that it "face the rising sun." It was, in effect, an apartment house. Each of Quanah's several wives had her separate quarters, in addition to the general living area. I have never found a

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statement of how many wives Quanah had at the time the house 643
was built. He had a total of seven from the time the Comanche roll 595
was made out in the seventies until the country was opened for settlement in 1901, at which time five were still living. Prior to the time the rolls were made, he had two Mescalero Apache wives. The name of only one of these, To-ye-yeh, has survived. The two desired to return to their own people, and Quanah consented. There is no record of children born to these Apache wives.

One interesting story connected with the house is that in the early 643
1890s Quanah had fourteen stars painted on the roof, including two 342
on the summer kitchen and two on the smokehouse. It seems that 177
during an army maneuver a brigadier general stopped at the house 531
to ask permission to cross Quanah's property. Quanah was mystified by the many stars the general displayed. There were stars on his vehicle, on a flag the vehicle carried, and on the general's collar and shoulders. When he was informed that the stars denoted the general's command of possibly three thousand troops, Quanah decided he, too, deserved some stars, for he had commanded even more warriors than the brigadier. Hence the stars on his roof.

Quanah, who was probably born around 1852, died in this house 643
in February, 1911. To-pay was his last surviving wife. She died in 595
1962, when she was more than ninety years old. She is credited with having said that Quanah's greatness was not that he was able to lead his tribe in the ways of peace, but that he was able to bring about peace and harmony in a household of several wives and numerous children.

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593 a wife, the other three having died from overwork. Neither would he
587 tolerate a slave woman to help his wife.

[586] According to Comanche custom, if you buy a wife and if for any reason she is unsatisfactory, if she runs away, or if she dies, you may go to the wife's father and demand the purchase price back, or another wife if there is still an unmarried daughter.

727 Concerning Mo-cho-rook's cruelty, it was said that he never took a prisoner. He killed all, as he came to them: warriors, women, old men, children, babies; and he took no prisoners. My memory is too faulty to give the number of scalps he was supposed to still have. One
[283] thing seemed pretty authentic. He was supposed to have a full-length lariat (approximately thirty-three feet) that he had plaited from women's hair—Mexican, Indian, and white.

I was never able to learn whether plaiting was an American In-
283 dian-developed art, or if it was learned from the Spanish. Many of the
[177] old fellows plaited excellent round rawhide ropes, and also many of them were quite proud of their horsehair lariats. Mo-cho-rook was the one and only man who was supposed to have one plaited from women's hair.

752 His death on October 4, 1915, at the age of eighty-nine, was slightly on the prosaic side. At least he died in bed. But he saw fit to lend a dramatic touch. He had sustained a broken hip while working with his horses. They brought a doctor out from Lawton, when he refused to go to the Indian hospital. The doctor put him in a cast, but when the doctor came back in a few days, he found that the old chap had made his wife cut the cast off. She had brought him dogwood switches from the creek, and he had plaited himself a wicker cast to hold his leg and hip. He lived only a short time.

127 As to his age, here is all we have to go by. The Comanche roll was
657 made up soon after the surrender in 1875. At that time he was arbitrarily given the birth year of 1826. That means that they judged him
765 to be fifty years old. It is extremely unlikely that even then any of the warriors who were on the raid when he was kidnapped from Mexico were alive. A little arithmetic will show that they would have been at least seventy years old. That is just older than Indians became at that time, under the conditions they lived in.

701 Another bit of arithmetic brings some interesting conclusions. Supposing that Mo-Cho-rook's birth year is approximately correct, that means he would have been an active warrior by the year 1844. That

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
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Oklahoma

WHISKEY NIGHTS

439 ONLY BY A CONSIDERABLE SEARCH could anyone be found in all southwest Oklahoma Territory lower down on the social scale than the man who peddled whiskey to the Comanches. There were reasons for his low rating, even aside from the fact that the peddler was a breaker of both the United States law and the law of the territory of Oklahoma.

177 At the turn of the century, the Comanche warrior was only twenty-
[181] six years from his war trails. Many considered him a savage with only
[273] a superficial veneer of civilization; dangerous when sober, he was
doubly feared when drinking.

[157] Nor was it considered sporting to tempt him, as the average old
273 Comanche's resistance was nil. The most cogent argument against
selling the Comanche liquor was financial. A dollar spent by the average Comanche family man for liquor meant his family was denied its value in necessities.

[435] The going price of a pint of cheap whiskey from the Comanche
bootlegger was five dollars. This amount would supply a family of
262 five with ample food for a week: a twenty-four-pound sack of flour,
435 four pounds of dry salt bacon, two pounds of good coffee, eight
511 pounds of sugar, ten pounds of good boiling beef (the Comanche
seldom fried beef), seventy-five cents for dry onions and assorted

553 Little significance attached to a girl's name. Often she was given
562 a pet name by her mother at birth and probably not given a real name for several years. Once named, she carried that name for the rest of her life, even after her marriage.

115 Much of my information concerning Ca-vo-yo and name-giving came from Charley Ross, who in turn had received much of his information from his father, To-wa, and his father-in-law, Mi-he-suah, whom we called Mi-so. They and Ca-vo-yo were approximately the
726 same age, and the three had been young warriors together. Mi-so was wounded during the first charge at Adobe Walls. With a buffalo-gun slug in his abdomen he lay all day quite near the Walls without moving, knowing that should the defenders detect any movement they would finish the job. He was rescued near evening by two mounted warriors, who, riding at full speed, picked him up, laid him across the horse in front of one of the riders, and rode out of range without being hit.

552 Once Charley told me of a service Ca-vo-yo rendered the older
177 Indians who knew no English. I think I remember it almost word for word, and so I will give it as a quotation. "When the white man came to live among the Comanches, here in Comanche land, he brought many things and customs the older Indians had never seen and knew nothing about. The old men went to Ca-vo-yo, and he gave them a Comanche name for each such article and custom. The words he gave them had a particular significance for the article or customs and were easily remembered."

Then Charley gave a little laugh, a sort of chuckle, and went on, "Many old Indians had never seen a completely bald man until they saw your father, so he gave him the name Ka-hait-ze Paph. *Ka-hait-ze* is 'without'; *paph* means 'hair' or 'head.' "

000 I carry three vivid mental images of Ca-vo-yo. One is really a
342 composite image. He lived in a little T-shaped box house that sits on the east bank of West Cache Creek, right where Blue Beaver Creek
609 adds itself to the larger stream. Soon the white people who lived to the east of the creek wanted another ford. They wanted a single ford to take the place of the fords across each creek, a mile upstream. So Ca-vo-yo allowed them to construct a ford just back of his house and only feet below the junction of the two creeks. To use this new ford you had to open and close two gates, as you let yourself through his horse corral.

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
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no one to compare him with, white or Indian. He was as unique as a new day dawning to the east of the slightly undulating prairie he loved. 000

He was born into the Comanche stone-age society, probably in 1861 or '62. Their great inland empire, Comanchería, was still intact. 101 History testifies that it had been theirs for 150 years. But that was only the length of time the white man had known the Comanche. From 1700, their ownership stretches back into the dimness of conjecture. Some anthropologists tell us the Comanche had been a separate and distinct tribe for a thousand years when the white man first met him. In any case, in 1861 Comanchería, more than six hundred miles north and south and almost as wide in places, contained thousands of horses to be captured and claimed and millions of buffalo, deer, and antelope for the Comanche's food.

But when the Civil War ended in 1865, a great horde of restless 177 men was released by both armies. Nearly all craved land. Each wanted a home of his own, a place to grow and expand. The Comanche, other plains tribes, and the buffalo were in their road. Comanchería and the horse buffalo culture came to an end.

Sometimes Wer-que-yah would talk a little of when the Co- 726 manche world ended for him. Somewhere, out on the Comanche prairie, in what the white man had labeled the Texas Panhandle, his group was overrun by the Army. The unwounded warriors escaped, but the wounded, the aged, and the women and children were captured and taken to Fort Sill.

The Comanche Family Record Book at Anadarko, Oklahoma, indicates that Wer-que-yah would have been fourteen, and the girl he afterward married, Peet-So, six years old at the time of their capture. This would have been in the last half of 1874 or the first half of '75.

Lieutenant General P. H. Sheridan, commander of the Army in the Middle West, was determined to bring the Indian wars to an end, once and for all. He secured President Grant's consent to place the Army of the Southwest on a twelve months a year, all-out war basis. Provisions for such an effort were assembled, including grain and forage for the horses and mules, and five columns were ordered into the field.

Lieutenant Colonel J. N. Davidson was ordered west out of Fort Sill. He commanded six troops of the 10th Cavalry, three companies of the 11th Infantry, two howitzers, and eighty-five newly recruited

A /Wer-que-yah--Analyst/

492 father's rider. Comanche-fashion, the boy rode bareback to save the
541 horse the additional weight of a saddle. He rode in his sock feet, as this helped him to grasp the barrel of the horse better. Many races were run from a standing start.

492 Comanches, who learned about horses from the Mexicans and
177 Spanish, mount a horse from the right. (All horsemen of Europe except the Spanish mount from the left, and we Americans copy them.)
492 This time Albert was using a stock saddle to exercise the larger stal-
164 lion. The half-wild animal bolted as Albert started to mount. Albert fell, and his right foot caught in the stirrup.

The frantic horse dragged the boy, dangling from the stirrup, through the timber and underbrush of West Cache Creek bottoms for more than two hours before the father could rope it. They sent for the white doctor right away; but when Dr. McLain saw the boy's condition, he felt death was only a matter of hours, and the setting of the bones and cleaning of his wounds would only subject the boy to additional pain.

000 He left them a supply of morphine tablets to give the injured boy, should he regain consciousness before dying. This was quite in keeping with the practice of medicine at the turn of the century. Doctors passed out morphine tablets as though they were a new cough drop they were advertising. No other medicine, other than quinine, was in as great supply or as cheap. Most families had at least an eight-ounce bottle of laudanum on the pantry shelf. In addition to its value as a medicine for humans, amateur horse-doctors found it useful.

763 When Jim's wives learned through Earny that the doctor held out no hopes for Albert, they went into the death wail, even before the doctor could leave the camp.

124 The foregoing is practically all the community ever learned directly about Albert's accident and the events immediately following Dr. McLain's departure. The rest of the story must be told much as a prosecuting attorney presents circumstantial evidence to convict a defendant of a crime when there are no eyewitnesses.

000 With Dad away I couldn't leave Mother alone with the store, and the day following an arrival of a load of freight was always a busy one. Besides the team to be cared for and the trade to be waited on, there was merchandise to unpack, mark, and put on the shelves. On nearly every load there was a fifty-five-gallon drum of kerosene to be pumped into the store's container.

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
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164 Albert's scalp was torn loose from just above the hairline on his neck to about the crown of his head. This had been stitched back in place with stitches about three quarters of an inch apart. Along the stitches, and on all the wounds that were uncovered, a white powder had been sprinkled. I assumed that this was powdered calomel, as it was supposed to be the best repellent for screwworm flies.

291 [159] Albert's body was exposed to the warm, dry air, aside from his breech-cloth or G-string. This is traditional covering for a Comanche boy's private parts, front and back, from the time he reaches puberty and throughout his life.

124 From this point, aside from a meager statement made by Big Jim, we are wholly dependent on circumstances for our reconstruction of what happened. Albert, Earny, and neighboring Indians contributed nothing to the overall information. Of course, no one wasted time trying to learn anything from the women. But the circumstances confront us with a succession of phenomena, or miracles, whichever you choose to call them.

177 The white doctor was barely gone when an itinerant cowboy rode into camp and asked for food. Hearing the women wailing, he learned
000 of Albert's accident and offered to set the broken bones. He washed and cleansed the wounds and protruding bones with yellow laundry soap such as the women used when they washed clothes in West Cache Creek. (I can testify about the soap. We sold many, many cases of it over a period of years. Its trade name was Lenox, but I don't remember who manufactured it. It was carried by all jobbers and was the cheapest laundry soap on the market. We sold it at a nickel a bar, six bars for a quarter.)

Should Big Jim's soap story sound far-fetched, let me introduce some corroborating testimony. Jim Carter, who for many years was both a member of the Oklahoma City police force and my personal friend, told me this story. When he was around nineteen, he was a line rider for a ranch out from Olton, Texas, in the Panhandle. Along with a lad two or three years older, he lived in a line shack about fifteen miles from ranch headquarters.

One noonday, after they had eaten, Jim started to mount his horse for his afternoon chore. The horse started bucking before Jim was in the saddle. Somehow his weight came down on his left leg extended across the saddle seat, and the bone in the upper leg snapped, about halfway between the knee and the hip. Of course, Jim fell to the

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

ground. One end of the bone, thrust through the flesh, gouged into 000
the dirt.

His partner carried Jim into the line shack, broke out a bottle of whiskey to calm him down, and proceeded to set the bone. First he washed the protruding bone in soapsuds made from a bar of yellow laundry soap—the only soap or disinfectant they had. Then, slipping one boot off, the amateur bone-setter put his heel in Jim's crotch and pulled the bone back in place. He tore up a cotton blanket into strips, wound strips of the blanket around pieces of wood from a goods box, put one splint under the leg and one on the opposite side from the wound caused by the bone, and bound them in place with other strips of the blanket.

As nearly as Jim remembers, the wound stopped bleeding and was not bandaged. But Jim wasn't too sure from here on; he was paying closer attention to the whiskey bottle.

His companion put the rest of the whiskey and a bucket of water by the head of Jim's bunk and set out for the ranch. The rancher sent a cowboy for the doctor, and they laid a mattress in a lumber wagon and started for the line shack. There Jim was lifted onto the mattress, and the long, slow, rough trip to the ranch began. The doctor met them on the way. It was night, but he examined the leg by the light of a kerosene lantern. Aside from adding more splints and telling them not to stint on the whiskey, he okayed the job, and the trip to the ranch was resumed.

The doc told them he didn't know anything that was better to clean a wound than laundry soap. Jim was left with a slight impediment in his walk, as if the one leg was a bit shorter than the other. It was a good enough leg for him to serve long years on the police force, in various capacities. He was finally retired because of advanced age.

Time must have been an element in saving Albert. Here was a 177
tramp cowboy faced with a job which would tax the resources of the
receiving room of an outstanding modern hospital. He had to com-
plete his job before dark, as the only available light would have been
a kerosene lantern with a number one wick. Whatever help he could
receive would come from Jim and Earny. All instructions to Jim must 191
be relayed through Earny. The instructions must be reduced to lan-
guage Earny could understand before he could relay them to Jim.
Earny was a good interpreter, an unusually bright boy for his age; but

32: Gilles 0,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
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000 Let us review what we know concerning the Bone-setter. Dr. McLain insisted that the cowboy's work indicated he possessed surgical training. His stitches were put in with a surgical needle and catgut suture, and he had a limited supply of powdered calomel. Excepting for the powdered calomel, these things were unlikely appurtenances to be carried by an itinerant cowboy. With the circulation of these facts, the tongues of the curious wagged.

The only other testimony comes from Jim Martny, Earny interpreting. No one else acknowledged knowing the cowboy or having seen him. Nearby ranch-owners and their ranch hands would not admit to knowing any cowboy who could fill the bill. They knew of cowboys who had set a bone or two; but this was a multi-fracture, a wholesale affair, along with the job of cleaning and stitching Albert's scalp back in place, besides caring for the numerous horseshoe wounds.

177 609 Approximately in these words, with Earny translating, Jim told of the cowboy, and he never varied from it: "Cowboy come to camp just after white medicine man leave. Him say he hungry. We feed cowboy. Him say he cowboy medicine man. Him set Albert's bones. Cowboy ride away north.

829 "Him look like all cowboys look. All cowboys look alike. All have mustache. All have big hat, high-heeled cowboy boots. All wear jeans pants and calico shirt. All have big gun in belt. All have good saddle.

000 "Horse him different. I tell about horse. Him sorrel so high," and Jim pointed to his chin.

"Horse come long way. Horse tired. Cowboy tired. Horse have white face. One white foot." And Jim made the necessary motions to help Earny finish the description of the horse: blaze face, left front foot white.

There was never one word as to how the long afternoon progressed, other than the use of the yellow soap. This was one of the few specific questions Jim seemed to understand. Like most Indians of his day, he found "No savvy" a convenient way to dodge any question he didn't care to answer.

Never a word as to how the women behaved. No word as to when Albert regained consciousness—whether it was during the ordeal of having his bones set or afterward. He was conscious when Dr. McLain drove his buckboard out, the afternoon of the second day, to dress the wounds. This seems to have been an instruction from the cowboy, to have the white doctor come out the second day.

000 Dr. McLain added little to the meager supply of facts. I believe he
went out only two times. The wounds were all completely scabbed
over, with so sign of infection, and he told the Indians he wouldn't
be needed. He left them a supply of powdered calomel, with instruc-
[136] tions to use it freely to repel screwworm flies. This was something the
Indians savvied, guarding against the screwworm fly. It had been their
enemy for countless generations.

758 We mustn't neglect to give Albert's healthy body, and his ances-
tors, credit for his ready healing, the quick, strong knitting of his
bones—plus the stoicism with which he lay there through the long hot
000 summer, letting nature take her course. (I took occasion, once, to con-
gratulate a surgeon on the job he had done on my son's broken wrist.
He replied that much of a surgeon's success depended on the patient.
"Your son got a good wrist and arm because when I told him not to
use it, he obeyed. Then when I told him to use it, though it hurt, he
used it.")

758 Albert remained out of school when fall came, and about Thanksgiving time he made his first trip to town horseback. I had been working out in the tent wareroom. Finishing my task, I returned to the storeroom and found Mother talking to Albert. Jim was standing there, face abeam, as Mother told Albert how well he looked.

His hair was long enough to cover the scalp scars, and his clothes covered the other marks of his accident. There was not a scar on face or hands. He was using all four of his limbs. His right leg was shorter, apparently, than the left, but for some time he limped on both legs.

000 By this time, much of the resentment over Jim's story had subsided. Most people took the story at Jim's value. Besides, they had things of greater interest with which to occupy themselves. But the overcurious, and those who had a "thing" about Indians in general, tried to create a feeling against the Indian family and against the cowboy Bone-setter who had saved the unfortunate boy's life.

177 Some people who didn't draw claims, and some who did, resented
the Comanches' having all the good bottomland along West Cache,
657 the water, and the timber. I think it would have helped if the gov-
423 ernment had called the land the Indians kept reserved land, instead
177 of allotments. This would have accented the fact that all the land had
belonged to the Indians and that they had sold only such land to the
government as they, the Indians, didn't wish to keep. The faultfinders

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
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Oklahoma

professed to feel it was all government land, of which the Indians 77
were given the first pick. [657]

The meager description of the Bone-setter, compared to the detailed description of the horse he was riding, fed the flames of those who resented Indians and everything concerning them. They promptly accused Jim of laying a false scent. In number, sorrel horses are in the minority compared to other colors. The dissenters contended that while officers were hunting for a fugitive mounted on a tired sorrel horse, the hunted, on a fresh horse of a different color furnished by Jim, would escape. [423]

Of course, there never was anything to indicate positively that the Bone-setter was a fugitive, nor did any representative of the law ever appear, hunting a mysterious cowboy. The fugitive idea was a product of minds wishing to believe the worst of anyone who gratuitously aided an Indian.

Some insisted that the mysterious Bone-setter hadn't left, but was being harbored by Jim. They wished to form a posse and make a search along West Cache Creek, on Jim's allotments, for the secretive cowboy's camp.

The wildest theory brought forward was the idea of the good Samaritan's having been done away with by one of Jim's squaws. This presumed that Albert regained partial consciousness about the time the Bone-setter finished his job and cried out in a delirium of pain. A nearby squaw used her butcher knife, the theory went, before Jim could rescue their benefactor.

To some, this explained the disappearance of the Bone-setter and the exactness of the description of the sorrel horse. The body could be disposed of in either of two ways. Stripped of its clothing, it could be weighted down in one of the deep holes along Cache Creek. There the garfish would soon dispose of the flesh, while an unbranded horse turned into Jim's herd would go unnoticed. Another suggestion had Jim stripping the body, tying it on a horse, and making a night trip into the Pasture Reserve. There the body could be left for the coyotes and buzzards to dispose of. (When the Pasture Reserve was opened in 1906 with a family on practically every quarter-section, a number of skeletons were found, one only about four miles from Chattanooga. A man named Richardson found it on his homestead. The writer went out the next morning, with the sheriff and county attorney, and helped gather up the bones.)

177 But even the cruelest gossip, if rehashed long enough, becomes
tiresome, and in due time the vicious-minded turned their talents elsewhere.
During the five years I remained in the community, nothing
was added to, or subtracted from, the mystery of the Bone-setter.

971 By the time the town started holding races the following summer,
[657] Albert was recovered sufficiently to ride his father's horses, and he
[541] returned to the Indian boarding school in the fall. When he and Earny
returned home at Christmas, Jim brought the two boys to the store
to exhibit them in their blue school clothes. Albert had grown, unbelievably.
Jim and I put him between us, and he was almost as tall as
541 we were. Earny was rejoicing at his brother's growth. It meant he
302 would now ride his father's horses in the races. The school people allowed
Albert to wear his hair long enough to cover his scalp and neck
scars, and he was truly a fine-looking young Indian man.

885 The Comanches had a word for him, but I was not to learn it for
884 some time. The word is *Tao-yo-vis-ses*, meaning a fine-looking young
man of warrior age. The story is that in camp, after the fall hunt and
before the bands went their separate ways to winter quarters, the
boys who had become young men would clean and polish their finest
[302] horses. Then, with their womenfolks assisting, they would carefully
[291] comb and braid their hair, rub oil into their skin until it glistened,
don their gaudiest breechclout and moccasins, and ride bareback
slowly through the camp, single file.

The camp might well be strung for some miles up and down a
creek or stream. The boys were joined by the girls who had reached
[302] puberty but were not married. The girls, hair in two long braids, painted
[291] and dressed in new buckskin dresses and leggings, were equally
proud of their bodies and bearing. The girl's name corresponding to
Tao-yo-vis-ses is *Nai-vi-se*.

The older Comanches considered this the finest sight in all the world. Everyone came out of the tipis, young and old, warriors and chiefs, and they cried out over and over, "Tao-yo-vis-ses! Nai-vi-se!" There before them was the tribe's future—its chiefs, its war leaders, its warriors, and the bearers of the tribe's men babies. Here were "The People" of tomorrow's tomorrow.

Now Albert Martny, who but for the skill of the unnamed Bonesetter would surely have died, was a handsome young warrior. You may be sure, come the summer Grass-Money time, Albert's womenfolks presented their *Tao-yo-vis-ses* with pride.

ARTIFACTS COLLECTED BY
JEAN LOUIS BERLANDIER
AMONG THE INDIAN TRIBES OF TEXAS

A small but historically important group of artifacts collected by Jean Louis 113
Berlandier among the Indians of Texas is preserved in the Smithsonian
Office of Anthropology. The French scientist made no reference to these 114
specimens in his Indian manuscript, but a few of his original labels, written
in French and in his own hand, are preserved with the collection. All but
one of the artifacts are recorded as Comanche.[1]

Whether Berlandier collected these specimens during his travels in Texas 114
as biologist for the Mexican Comisión de Límites, 1828–31, or during the
suceeding two decades, while he lived in Matamoros, Mexico, just south of 101
the Rio Grande, we do not know. Comanche war parties raided as far south
as the Gulf Coast of Texas during the 1840s. William Bollaert's drawing of
objects taken from a Comanche party who raided Corpus Christi in June
1844 pictures artifacts which closely resemble some of those in the Berlandier
collection (see Figure 18). Although the collection can be dated no
more precisely than 1828–51 (i.e. between Berlandier's arrival in Texas in
1828 and his death near Matamoros in 1851), we may consider it to be
representative of Comanche Indian material culture during the second
quarter of the 19th century. As such, it comprises either *the* earliest, or one 114
of the earliest, extant collections from the largest nomadic tribe of Texas
during the historic period—the Comanche.

These objects complement both Berlandier's descriptions and Lino Sánchez
y Tapia's watercolors in rounding out Berlandier's unique record of
the Comanche prior to 1850. Not for fully another quarter century was the 177
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[1] Artifacts from the Berlandier collection are entered in the first two catalog books of Smithsonian collections which are preserved in the Smithsonian Office of Anthropology.

traditional Comanche culture fundamentally changed, owing to the extermination 177
of the buffalo—their staff of life—their pacification by the U.S. 178
Army, and their confinement to a reservation in present-day Oklahoma.

Berlandier was not the first white man to collect artifacts from the Comanche 114
and their neighbors. As early as 1779 Governor Juan Bautista de
Anza of New Mexico presented to Teodoro de Croix, Military Commander [648]
of the Internal Provinces of New Spain, the war headdresses taken from the [178]
bodies of the prominent Comanche war chief, Cuerna Verde (Green Horn),
and his second in command, Jumping Eagle, after a battle on September 3,
1779, during which the Spanish decisively defeated Cuerna Verde's Comanche.[2]
During the fall of 1807 Lieutenant Zebulon M. Pike, pioneer American
explorer of the Southern Plains, sent Thomas Jefferson an Apache
quiver and arrows and informed the President that he had "collected a
variety of curiosities of various savage tribes through which we passed."[3]
Unfortunately, I have found no record of the preservation of these earlier [127]
artifacts in public or private collections.

The very great majority of Comanche specimens in the museums of this
country and abroad were collected within the Reservation Period—i.e. after
1875. The earlier objects in the Berlandier collection provide a solid base
for future studies of trends and developments in the history of Comanche
Indian arts and crafts. Even though they number less than 20 specimens, the 114
ones Berlandier collected range from war equipment to costume and containers; 531
they illustrate Comanche skills in featherwork, in dressing animal 177
hides, and in decorating tough rawhide and soft skin surfaces with painted
designs and trade beads during the second quarter of the 19th century. And
they show the use at that time of trade cloth, rolled metal cones, and brass
tacks in decorating articles of Indian make.

Comanche
Shields
Figures
19-23
Plate 17

The Berlandier collection contains three fine examples of the principle 714
defensive weapon of the Comanche—the rawhide shield—commonly made 237
from the breast of the buffalo, where the hide was thickest. Each shield was
furnished with a cover of soft skin which enclosed and protected it when not [415]
in use.

In his written description of shields Berlandier makes repeated mention [789]
of the Comanche custom of tieing small animal skins to the fronts of the
shields as war medicines.[4] The shield pictured in Figure 19 still has fragments
of two pocket gophers (of the family Geomyinae) tied to it. Appar-

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[2] Thomas, 1932, pp. 134–36, 142.

[3] Jackson, 1966, vol. 2, pp. 275–76. The quiver and arrows probably were from the Lipan [113]
Apache. Two of the arrows were deposited in Peale's Museum in Philadelphia and were entered
in their Accession Book under the date May 4, 1808. (Accession Book, Peale's Museum, Dec. 4,
1804–October 1842, in Historical Society of Pennsylvania Library, Philadelphia.) These arrows
were also mentioned in the Philadelphia *Aurora*, July 27, 1808.

[4] See pages 54, 91, 118.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 171]

Yurok NS31
Comanche NO6●

N

W
Bois (p. 6) and Nash (p. 414) both tell of Frank Spencer (Weneyuga), who conducted 171
Ghost Dances in 1870 among the Washo, Paiute of Surprise Valley, at 177
Klamath Reservation, and at McDermitt. Knowing that Basin Indians paid
shamans well and that Spencer became a famous shaman at McDermitt, I do not 668
doubt that he received something more than glory for his trouble. This is supported 785*
by Nash's statement (p. 424) concerning the 1870 movement at Klamath: "The 787
appeal to the leaders—personal aggrandizement of previously declassed individuals—should not be overlooked."

The Shasta Indian who introduced the Earth Lodge variant of the 1870 Ghost Dance to the Siletz and Grand Ronde reservations and attempted to get a following among the Columbia River tribes "made quite a lot of money" by selling eagle-tail feathers at $1.00 apiece, headbands for $1.25, and by imposing fines of twenty-five cents for dropping a feather. He was given "three or four horses," also. Another convert, who took the dance to Coos Bay and charged one dollar for attendance, told Du Bois (p. 34): ". . . Chetco Charlie and I divided the money. . . ." Y
A contemporary newspaper account said of the Yurok Ghost Dance leader, "In his [668]
character of prophet he exacted a levy of half a dollar from each Indian permitted [787]
to join.'"[95] A Wintun invited the Achomawi to a dance with the instruction to bring all their valuables to pay for it.[96] And Du Bois's Chico Maidu informant said, "The River Patwin had wagons and were well-to-do, so they were called to Chico. The Hill Maidu were poor and had to come on foot, so they weren't asked often."

Homaldo (Mexican Jo), one of the Wintun creators of the Bole-Maru, the central California phase of the 1870 Ghost Dance, demanded twenty dollars for holding a meeting and said if it was not paid the rancheria captains "would have bad luck and die." Because Homaldo used sleight-of-hand tricks and had a white man partner, Du Bois (pp. 63–66) writes: ". . . his integrity, if not his influence, is suspect." She did not suspect Paitla, who proselyted western Oregon and the Shasta, Wintun, and Achomawi, although he often accompanied Homaldo and "told people to pay him money so they could be saved."

Except for Homaldo, Du Bois does not consider important the factor of individual financial advantage to the missionaries and innovators in the spread of the 1870 Ghost Dance complex. With the evidence she presents, however, financial reward added to political and social prerogatives appears to have been a strong inducement for converts to carry the religion beyond the confines of their own tribes.

Similar instances are found in the history of the 1890 Ghost Dance. Even the Northern Paiute (Paviotso) Wovoka, who at first seemed to be an unselfish, naïve dreamer, succumbed to the desire for material gain. Steward was told by the Owens Valley Paiute that Wovoka, "losing influence in California and Nevada . . . visited Oklahoma, charging people one dollar to shake hands and dividing the profits with a young boy" (p. 322). Shimkin heard that Wovoka when returning from a tour of the Plains visited Wind River, Wyoming, and charged from ten cents to ten dollars, according to ability to pay, for the same privilege. N

The history of the 1890 Ghost Dance, as recorded by Mooney, is primarily one W
of the successes of outstanding leaders and proselyters.[97] The Arapaho Sitting 171
Bull was the principal Arapaho leader and was probably personally responsible for the spread of the Ghost Dance to the Ponca, Oto, Missouri, Kansa, Iowa, Osage,

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[95] Du Bois, 23, 27.

[96] Tom Garth, field notes.

[97] One case was individual obstruction. Mooney said the Comanche did not take to the Ghost C [177]
Dance because "Quannah Parker, their head chief, opposed the new doctrine and prevented its [668] ●
spread among his tribe."